



# UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

## CONVOCATION ADDRESSES

Vol. I

1858—1879



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# CONVOCATION ADDRESSES.

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*The 11th December, 1858.*

The Hon'ble Sir James William Colville, Kt.,  
*Vice-Chancellor.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

Some of you may recollect that, at our last annual meeting, a gentleman of high and deserved authority amongst us expressed an opinion to the effect, that on these occasions something like a formal and public address was due from him who, as Vice-Chancellor or otherwise, might preside at the meeting. Others present seemed to share in that opinion; and in deference to it rather than in accordance with my own inclinations, I purpose, before we proceed to other business, to make some observations to you. I say "rather than in accordance with my own inclinations," because I feel that what I have to say will not be found worthy of an occasion, to which at no time I should feel equal—to which at the present time I am more than usually unequal, in consequence of the pressure upon me during the last week, of other, and most uncongenial duties which have left me even less time

than I generally have *vacare musis*, or to meditate an address fit to be delivered to this audience.

Gentlemen, of the proceedings of the University during the last year a short report will be read to you by the Registrar. I suspect that both those who consider the creation of this University premature,—who look upon this University as an institution in advance of the wants of the community—and those who take the opposite view may find weapons in that report as in common armoury. But I think that we may fairly draw from the facts there stated, these two inferences: first, that there is amongst the natives of this country a very considerable desire for academical distinction; secondly, that we on our part have done nothing unduly to foster that desire by making those distinctions cheap. I draw the latter inference from the facts, that at the first and only examination for a degree in Arts that has yet been had, thirteen candidates presented themselves, but that two only, being the gentlemen on whom I shall have the happiness of conferring their degrees to-day, attained the standard required; that afterwards, on a suggestion by some of the gentlemen concerned in the examination, to the effect that the standard was too high, the question of lowering it was referred to the Senate, and that that body after full consideration determined to maintain the standard for a degree almost without alteration. I

draw the first inference, because I find that notwithstanding this strictness, notwithstanding that the unhappy civil commotions, through which we have been passing during the last two years, have closed the schools of the N. W. Provinces, the number of candidates for entrance into this University has this year increased from 244 to 464. Of this last number 111 have been admitted, all of them, with one exception, being natives of the Lower Provinces. I think that when order shall have been completely re-established in the North Western Provinces, and the Colleges and Schools there are again in full vigour, and when education in the Panjab has made further progress, the number of students who will resort to this University will be very large.

Gentlemen, I feel tempted to wander from these details into a wider field, and to touch on the general subject of education in this country. The digression is natural; since, although it may be true that the functions of an University, constituted as this is, are not to impart instruction directly, yet if the University is to fulfil its mission, if it is to become of any substantial benefit to the country, it must at least give a tone to the instruction afforded by those bodies which are directly instructive. And perhaps I feel the temptation of which I spoke the more strongly, because this is probably the last occasion on

which I shall appear in public as taking part in that great work of education, with which, though a very inconsiderable and inefficient agent, I have, throughout my Indian career, been more or less connected. Again, I know not whether I am yielding to the natural tendency of one, who, at the close of his career, seeks to excuse his own short-comings by magnifying the difficulties which have beset his course; or, whether I am moved by the circumstances of the times; but certain it is, that in reflecting on this subject, my mind has dwelt chiefly on the peculiar obstacles which impede the progress of education in this country. And of some of these I design mainly to speak.

We all know, that those who first undertook the task of transferring the treasures of Western learning, and Western science into the Oriental mind, found before them a choice of difficulties. They had to choose, between conveying instruction through the medium of the English language, or through the medium of the Vernaculars. The first is a key which unlocks the whole treasure-house; but it is one, which only the few can acquire, and it leaves a foreign mark upon all to which it opens the door. The last is a key that opens a wider portal; but it admits the multitude into a far narrower chamber. We know that our predecessors preferred the system under which the few might learn much to that under

which more might learn something, and perhaps better assimilate what they learned. I think that they were right when they so decided ; but I also think, and I believe that all men are coming round to that opinion, that we must not neglect the other method but, on the contrary, use it more and more as occasion offers, if we wish the education which we give to strike deep root or to extend over a wide surface.

Let us now look another difficulty in the face. If, in our own country, men turn almost hopelessly from the difficulties which the diversities of religious belief and feeling oppose to any system of national education, what must be the case here, when we have to deal, not with contending sects of the same religion, but with the professors of at least three distinct and irreconcilable creeds, of which the antagonism is the more inveterate, because one of them is associated with the feeling of nationality, and the other with the desires and the regrets of temporal domination. And, in addition to purely religious difficulties, we have to deal with those that are social rather than religious, and spring from the system of caste, which is of the essence of Brahmanism, and has strangely and unnaturally become in this country a sort of accident Islamism. You may wonder why I have chosen to address you on a subject, which seems trite and obvious, and is suggestive of many questions of extreme

delicacy. I will endeavour to explain this presently. But I wish first to consider in what form this monster difficulty meets us in each of the different departments of learning into which we, the Senate of the University, have divided the subjects with which we have to deal.

I begin with that general education which is the province of the Faculty of Arts. One of the most obvious results of the religious difficulty is the indisposition to receive even the truths of physical science and the results of modern observation, because they contradict the dogmas or the dicta of religious books, or the teaching or traditions of those who are thought to possess a character holier than that of professors of purely secular learning. In short, we have to meet the feeling, which, in Southern Europe, so long obstructed the reception of astronomical truths, or of whatever else conflicted with that portion of the Aristotelian philosophy which had been adopted by the Church;—the feeling which, in our own age and our own country, is still often found in antagonism to the results of Geological discovery. This however is an evil which time and gradual enlightenment may remove. But suppose it removed,—we shall hardly the less have to meet the religious difficulty in another shape. For there are few thinking men who, if they really

possess any religious sentiment, will not admit the imperfection of that system of education, under which the teacher is severed from the religious sympathies of the taught; and must either be silent upon the relations of man to a higher world, or, if he discourses upon them, must be suspiciously heard and imperfectly understood. Again, this difficulty has lately presented itself in a new form and with special relation to this University. I need not remind you that the University includes the students of the Government Institutions from which, necessarily, as I think, religious instruction is excluded; the students, whether Christian or not Christian, of institutions under the control of Christian Missionaries, and schools in which the teachers and the taught being alike Christians, religious instruction may be given as freely as in any European Seminary. It seemed to us, who settled the course of study and the subjects of examination prescribed by the University, that all should have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in every branch of learning which formed part of their ordinary studies. And therefore we inserted certain subjects connected with theology amongst those subjects on one or more of which candidates for Honours might at their choice be examined—examination in such subjects being compulsory on none. We know now that even this concession has recently been



objected to in a high quarter. I trust, however, that on a fuller explanation of the whole matter, that objection will be removed. One word more upon this subject in connection with the Faculty of Arts. The very necessity which excludes theology and religious doctrine from the compulsory subjects of our examinations, makes the duty of doing our very best to inculcate that sound morality, which all, whatever be their creed, may receive, the more imperative. It seems to me, therefore, that the warning lately given to the Senate by Dr. Duff of the tendency of the native mind to prefer the subtleties of metaphysics and the intellectual exercises of Logic to the sound and practical truths of purely Ethical science was of peculiar value,—and that we ought to be careful hereafter to order our examinations on Mental and Moral Philosophy in the manner indicated by him.

I now turn from the Faculty of Arts to that of Medicine. Every body knows what obstacles the prejudices of caste opposed to the efficient study of Medicine by the Natives of this country. Most people know how nobly and resolutely those prejudices have been surmounted by many men of the highest caste. Yet it must be felt that this cause is still generally operative; that it deters many from embracing a noble profession. It may also be doubted whether the social and religious peculiarities of the natives of this

country have not contributed, as powerfully as any constitutional infirmity or defect, to that listlessness, and that indisposition to locomotion and adventure, which have painfully distinguished some of the most promising graduates of the Medical College from the members of their profession of other races,—some of whom are ever to be found in the first ranks of the pioneers of civilisation, amongst the boldest explorers of distant regions, and the most active and intelligent disseminators of Science.

Let us now turn to the Faculty of Law. At first sight, the difficulty which we are considering, does not seem to oppose any serious obstacle to the study or practice of the Law. The English law, so far as it enters into the Municipal system of this country, and the Statutory law of British India, contain nothing that runs counter to the religious feelings of either Hindu or Mahomedan. In so far as the Hindu and Mahomedan Codes still form part of the Municipal law of the country, every advocate and every judge, of whatever race or creed he may be, must needs study and apply them. There is much that is excellent in both codes, much that is of universal application, more that was admirably adapted to the state of society for which it was designed. Nevertheless, I cannot but think it a serious misfortune for any community that its Municipal law is closely associated with, or

dependent upon its religious faith, and possesses in the eyes of those who are subject to it, the sacredness of a Revelation. The evil cannot but be felt in whatever concerns the science of Jurisprudence, and is especially felt in that application of the science which is involved in legislation. It is surely an objection to both these codes that, if you turn over the great text books of either, you can hardly fail to stumble upon reasons for particular provisions which approve themselves to no mind that does not embrace all the traditions of the particular creed with which the law is associated, which to any other mind are grossly and palpably absurd. I will not seek for frivolous and ridiculous examples, though I might cite such either from the Hedaya, or from Colebrooke's Digest. I will take, in order to illustrate my meaning and and without objecting to its substance, the Hindu law of Inheritance. So long as you consider the provisions of that law or the variations of them according to its different Schools, with reference to their adaptation to the wants of the community, or to the degree in which they are likely to contribute to the permanence of state or the continuance of families, to national wealth or to individual happiness, you are upon a fair field of scientific inquiry upon which jurists of all races and creeds may meet. But if you are told that the

preference of one class of heirs over another depends upon this Shaster or that Commentator defining the degree in which a funeral oblation offered by one person operates more to the spiritual benefit of the deceased than a funeral oblation offered by another person, you pass at once from the domain of Reason into the realms of Fancy, from the realities of the visible world to the dreams,—and to any mind but that of an orthodox Hindu,—the idle and superstitious dreams of an unseen world. But there is a further and graver objection to these unions of law and religion which applies to them be the religion with which the law is associated never so true—which would apply to the law which we believe to have been revealed from Mount Sinai. And herein we may humbly recognise a further proof of the Divine Wisdom which determined that with the admission of the Gentiles into the Christian Church, the obligations of the Mosaic law should cease.\* For the province of religion is to define and to enforce the duties and the relations of man to God and these must needs be of a permanent and

\* In order to prevent a misapprehension, which I have been told some may conceive of my meaning in this passage, I beg to state that I did not intend to touch the question mooted by some Christian Moralists and Divines whether certain parts of the moral Law, the obligations of which are universally recognised, are binding upon us by reason of the positive injunctions of the Decalogue, or otherwise. I intended to refer to the whole Mosaic law as a system regulating the social relations of the Jewish people, and enforcing its injunctions by

enduring character. But if jurisprudence deserves the brilliant description of it given by Burke, a description adopted and enforced by Mackintosh, that it is "the collected reason of ages combining the eternal principles of justice with the infinite variety of human concerns," then the particular application of those principles ought to vary with the varying wants and habits of successive generations of the same people. And the variation will generally be measured by the social improvement and development of the community. The clothes that covered the child will not fit the grown man. Now we all know that in every age and in every country there are many who resist wholesome change, only because it is change. We also know what additional force these Tories of the human race possess when to a protest against change they can add the cry "Religion is in danger." Here we have known men, who I verily believe were some of them good, kind and humane, protest against the enforced abolition of a rite so abhorrent to humanity as that of Suttee. More recently the act which legalised the re-marriage of widows has been denounced as a dangerous invasion of Hindu law by an alien Legislature, temporal as well as spiritual penalties or sanctions. Every Christian, whatever view he takes of the question above adverted to, must admit that a son is bound to respect his parents; and that adultery is a sin against God and man. Yet few, if any, would desire that the adulterer (Lev. 20-10 and Deut. 20-22) or the son who cursed either father or mother (Exod. 21-17) should still be punishable with death.

—most falsely so denounced—for all who know, and all who will take the trouble to inform themselves of the history of that measure, must be aware that it originated in a movement from within, not in one from without, the Hindu community—that the act was the concession of the Legislature to the prayers of Hindus, many of them of the highest caste, who sought to be relieved from a prohibition of which they, according to their view of their own law, denied the obligation, and which they felt to be, in any case, a stain on their community.

I will now turn to the youngest of our schools—that which is represented by the Faculty of Civil Engineering. Most of us have rejoiced to see in the Colleges of Civil Engineering, that have of late years been established the means of opening a new field to the industry and energies of our educated youth. It is a field on which religious strife may well be expected to be silent. Yet it is one from which the tyranny of custom or caste may drive many of our native students. For no man can attain excellence as a Civil Engineer, who is above using his hands as well as his head—who will not master the details of the work, however rough and coarse it may be, that is to be done under him—who cannot make himself somewhat of a handicraftsman. Therefore a Civil Engineer must be prepared to reject altogether the foolish dogma,

which obtains acceptance with some classes of natives, that this or that kind of manual labour is *per se* degrading. I confess, I should like to make any intelligent native lad who still clings to this absurd notion, who does not realise what may be the dignity of labour, study the biography recently published of one of the most eminent of modern Engineers, George Stephenson. I would shew him, George Stephenson, labouring through childhood and youth in a coal mine—unable at 18 to read and write, but learning to cobble shoes and mend watches, so that he might earn the means of educating, first himself, and afterwards his now distinguished son. I would shew him, George Stephenson, never above his daily work, yet ever striving towards something higher. I would shew him, George Stephenson, cleaning on holidays the machinery he used, yet whilst he cleansed it observing all its details, and constantly meditating upon possible improvements of it. I would shew him, George Stephenson, following out the trains of thought so suggested as occasion offered, during upwards of twenty five years, by actual experiment, until it was given to him to perfect that wonderful machine which is doing so much to change the face of the earth, to abridge distance, to economise time, to develop natural resources, to increase national wealth, and to bring distant nations into free and intelligent communion with

each other. I would make him trace George Stephenson from the coal-pit to the position in which his society was courted by Statesmen and by Princes; not for his wealth—though that for a man who was “*fortunæ faber ipse sœ*” was considerable, but because he had won for himself a place amongst those who, as great inventors, have been the benefactors of mankind, amongst those whom the heathen poet crowned, in the Elysium of his fancy, with the white garland “*Iuventas qui vitam excoluere per artes.*” And having done this, I would ask my student to contrast this career with that of some of his countrymen (examples would readily occur to him) who have risen from small beginnings to great fortune. Let him follow such a man never, God bless the mark! soiling his hands with manual or mechanical labour; but peddling first in small adventures, jobbing in petty contracts, or peradventure making illicit gains as an Omlah, improving his gains howsoever made by exorbitant usury, or by trafficking in law suits with all the frauds, oppressions and chicanery, which such traffic generally involves, until having added lack unto lack and zemindary to zemindary, he takes his place amongst the great and wealthy of the land—evincing perhaps (for there have been many examples of this) liberality, nay even munificence, in the disposal of his wealth, yet never losing the taint contracted from the



sources through which that wealth was derived. Let my student contrast these two careers ; and if he arrives at a right judgment concerning them, he will reverence honest labour, however rude, and mechanical skill.

Let me now say why, in spite of many considerations that might have deterred me, I have spoken so much upon this subject. \* I have done so because the events of the last two years have powerfully stirred men's minds upon it ; and because many are now anxiously looking to see what, upon this as upon other great national questions, will be the result of the recent change of Government. There are those who think that it behoves Government to take a bolder course than it has hitherto taken, and to quit that position of neutrality which it has hitherto professed to hold, and, as I believe, has conscientiously maintained. There are others who, admitting that Government so far as it takes a direct part in the education of the people must continue to observe a strict neutrality in this matter, nevertheless think that the time is come when Government should be content to educate through the agency of Schools and Colleges instituted by private societies or individuals,—aiding and countenancing them, but gradually giving up its own Schools and Colleges. I do not hesitate to declare—though I feel that in this I may differ from many whom I

have the honour to address, I do not hesitate to declare my own clear conviction that Government ought to maintain its principle of neutrality in this matter inviolate. I also think that the time has not yet come, if it shall hereafter come, when Government can with safety to the cause of education, or with justice to the bulk of the people give up its own establishments. My own wish is that the two classes of schools, the Government Colleges and those which are independent of Government, should continue for some years longer to meet on that fair field of free competition which this University affords; that our system should be tested by something more than a two years' trial. I do not wish however to discuss at length these difficult and delicate questions which cannot receive a solution here. My wish rather is—and in this, I believe, I shall have the concurrence of all who hear me,—to raise my voice against sentiments and principles of a different kind; against the sentiments and principles of those who, looking at this difficulty by the lurid and uncertain light of a great conflagration, so shrink from its magnified and distorted proportions that they would altogether retreat before it, and compel us either to abandon our work, or to make a step so retrograde that future progress will be difficult, if not impossible. You are aware that such principles as these have been in a measure avowed in a paper recently laid

before Parliament, which, in my humble judgment, is less formidable from the weight of its reasoning than from the authority of the two names attached to it, the one being the name of a gentleman eminently distinguished in several branches of the public service, the other that of a Statesman to whom those who are opposed to his opinions, cannot deny the attributes of great ability, and large Indian experience. But it is not merely to the substance of that paper that I object. Its publication is to my mind suggestive of another and great danger to the cause of education. For against what is the paper mainly directed? Surely against the remarkable Despatch which called this University into existence and made other important changes in the system of national education. Now every body who knows the history of that Despatch is aware that it was not prompted by suggestions from this country; that it was not the act of the great Corporation whose reign has just passed away; but that it contained, if ever an Indian Despatch did contain, an exposition of the views of the then minister of the Crown, and imposed those views and a consequent course of action, which was startling I believe to some here, and to some in the India House, both upon the Court of Directors and upon the Government of India. What then is the danger which I spoke as suggested by this paper? It is that what one minister

for India advisedly does in this great matter of education, his successor may denounce or undo. If Government is to be an agent in education at all—(and all parties admit that it must be an agent in some way and for some purpose, that it cannot and ought not to leave this great work to the unassisted efforts of individuals or private societies) it ought, above all things, to have a definite policy which no mere ministerial changes can disturb. The ship that is freighted with the enlightenment of millions ought to have a definite course. Though she may be steered on that course with more or less skill according to the hands which hold the helm, she ought never to be allowed to drift at the caprice of the helmsman of the hour amidst the shifting sands and shoals of party politics. Therefore I do earnestly hope that this great educational question with all its difficulties will be among the first to receive the careful consideration of the new Government of India, that God will guide our Rulers to the adoption of the best course, and that that course will be thenceforth resolutely and consistently pursued.

If this be done then, although I have dwelt mainly upon our difficulties and discouragements, I have no fear of the ultimate result. I cannot believe that Providence has built up an insuperable barrier between the thoughts and feelings of the Western and those of the Eastern world;

between races who, if Ethnologists are right, are allied more closely than by their common humanity. May we not suppose that in the economy of the moral and intellectual world there obtains some principle analogous to that which in the economy of the natural world permits the animal and vegetable productions of one climate to be transplanted to, and to become naturalized in another? Ought we not to believe that it is for some higher purpose than the extension of dominion or commerce, that our vast Empire here has been so marvellously built up, and during the last two years so providentially preserved? But we must be patient, we must recollect that we are not merely planting an exotic. We are planting a tree of slow growth. The plant is young and tender, and obstructed by weeds and brambles. But it is healthy, and if carefully tended, will, by God's blessing, become a goodly tree and overshadow the land.

*The 6th March, 1860*

The Hon'ble Mr. William Ritchie

*Vice-Chancellor*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND OF THE  
UNIVERSITY,

I much regret that pressure of public business, coupled with recent indisposition, has prevented me from preparing an address that shall be in any degree worthy of the occasion on which we are met, the position I have the honor to hold, or the University, the good of which we all have at heart. But I should be doing injustice alike to the occasion, to my own feelings, and to the University, if I failed to express, however feebly and inadequately, the gratification which the Meeting of this day, and the evidence it affords of the satisfactory working of our University system, must call forth in all who are interested in the great cause of Education in India. Of those, no one takes a warmer interest in that cause, and consequently no one will share more in that gratification, than the noble Chancellor of this University, whose seat I, by delegation, occupy. In the midst of overwhelming and multitudinous cares of State, through times of

unparalleled difficulty and trial, Lord Canning has never failed to testify a strong personal interest in our University, or to support, with the weight of his position and influence, such measures as he thought likely to conduce to its good, even when opposed to the views of high authorities in the state at home. No wonder that he should have felt this interest. Tracing as he does, and as many an English Statesman does, the foundation of his success in after life to the training he received at a noble and ancient English University, and to the spirit of generous emulation and faithful labour which Oxford fosters in her sons, no wonder that he should appreciate the immense advantages which may hereafter accrue to this great country, from the well-being of an infant University which first drew breath under his auspices, and of which he, the first Viceroy of the land, is also the first Chancellor. Well then, Gentlemen, I say that all who are interested in the welfare of the University, from the noble Lord to whom I have referred to the humblest candidate, must, I think, feel gratified at the evidence which the proceedings of this day afford, as it appears to me, of three things :—first, of the fact that the University is beginning, slowly and gradually, but, I trust, surely and healthfully, to fulfil its mission and to answer some of the expectations entertained of it by its founders ; second, of the interest

which the natives of this country take in the cause of education: and, third, of the practical usefulness of the test which the University affords of the character of the education, prevailing in this country in the affiliated institutions and of the attainments of the students in the different branches of that education.

For what do these proceedings amount to?

We shall admit to-day to Degrees 24 candidates in all, of whom 10 were examined in 1859, 13 in 1860, and one has passed in Law. On the only similar occasion on which we have met, at the end of 1858, there were but 3 candidates admitted to Degrees out of 13 candidates in the whole. Those numbers have increased to 10 successful out of 20 candidates in 1859: and to 13 successful out of 61 candidates in 1860. With reference to the present year also, it must be remembered that this large proportion of unsuccessful candidates may be accounted for by the circumstance, that this is the last year in which certain privileges as to attendance on lectures in Affiliated Institutions, which were reserved by the Bye-laws to students who had entered those institutions before the foundation of the University, were secured to candidates; and that those privileges were preserved by a candidate going in for an examination this year, though unsuccessfully,—and will be available to him next year. Hence, many students who



knew they were not in a condition to pass, seem to have gone into the examination of the year, not with a view to passing, but to retaining the special privilege for the next year's examination. Whether therefore we look to the absolute number of the successful candidates; to the relative numbers of the successful or unsuccessful ones,—rejecting from the latter those whom the accidental circumstance alluded to, contributed to the list;—or to the increase in the numbers of both, I think the result is, on the whole, satisfactory. For, be it remembered, that it is no superficial test to which these candidates have been subjected; no easy ordeal through which they have passed. The examination has been, in every instance, a rigorous and searching one; and has been conducted by gentlemen generally unconnected with the colleges or institutions where the candidates have been educated; who were consequently unacquainted with the special character of the training they had received; and who conducted the examination on those broad and enlarged principles which are in force in our English Universities and with which long use has rendered those versed in *English Education* familiar; but which, when applied to native candidates, carry with them much of novelty and of consequent difficulty. And the rule has been adhered to which has been laid down by the University, and doubtless wisely laid down, and

rightly adhered to, although particular cases of hardship may have arisen under it, that unless competency were displayed in all the branches of compulsory examination, the candidate should not pass; so that excellence in one branch would not atone for deficiency in another. It should not therefore be deemed a slur upon either the unsuccessful candidates, or upon the tuition of the colleges or gentlemen whose pupils were unsuccessful, that so many of the candidates temporarily failed. It should rather be deemed satisfactory to the whole class, both of teachers and of taught, that, considering the searching character of the examination and the high standard required, so many should have passed with credit and so few of those who failed should have failed discreditably, or in a majority of the subjects, or without a fair prospect of their being able to pass after another year's training.

If some disappointment has been felt both among students and teachers, (and no examination ever yet took place, I will not say, in any University alone, but in any school or place of Education from the highest to the lowest in any country, which did not bring with it a plentiful crop of disappointments), it must be remembered that that disappointment could only have been avoided either by lowering the standard of the University, or by reducing the scale of the examination to a level which would render

success itself worthless, and the degree which was the result of that success a thing of naught. Whereas, by honestly adhering to the standard adopted by the Senate as the right one, and by the determination of the Examiners not to be swayed to the right or left by any consideration of expediency, or sympathy, or by aught save the intrinsic merits of each individual paper, we, at all events, secure this result, that if our Degrees are difficult to obtain they are of value when obtained; that they indicate a high degree of education in the best and truest sense of the word, and a laudable perseverance to overcome difficulties in the candidates, who have attained them; and that they secure to the possessor, a position which ought to be, and I trust will be, one of honour and respect not only in this country, but in any country, in the civilized world, where academical distinctions are valued, which he may choose to visit.

The times through which we have passed are such as necessarily inspired anxiety in all interested in the Education of the people, and especially in those concerned in the well-being of our University. The recollection of those times may well warrant us in hailing with thankfulness our present prospects. Let me refer, in illustration to a few dates and events connected with the recent history of Education in India. It is just a quarter of a century

since the principle was laid down, by the Government of India in 1835, after long and important discussion that the grand object of the Government in connection with the education of the people of the country, should be the diffusion of European literature and of modern science. Loud was the opposition on the part of those who, with no lack of learning or ability and with many plausible appeals to old associations and the supposed predilections of the people, advocated the cause of obsolete Oriental learning, and of ancient but fantastic science. The same results which were foretold as likely to flow from the abolition of Sutte; the same which, in more recent times, have been, I believe most unjustly, attributed to the permission of widows to marry again, and to the removal of all forfeitures and disabilities by reason of change of religious belief,—were prophesied as likely to flow from the radical change in the national Education. That change, however, was carried out, to the infinite advantage, I believe, of thousands who have since received the elements of an useful education, and of millions more who will receive them, I trust, in times to come. Ten years after that change,—so much had education prospered under it,—the Council of Education addressed the Court of Directors and suggested that the time had come when a University might be established with good

effects, at least in Bengal. The Court thought the proposal premature and, for the time, withheld their sanction. But, nine years afterwards, in July, 1854, a period ever memorable in the Annals of Education in this country the Court sent out a Despatch\* which for the breadth and comprehensiveness of its views; for the sagacity with which it availed itself of the experience of the past, and provided for the future; for the lofty tone of wisdom and benevolence which pervaded it, was probably not surpassed by any despatch that ever emanated from that great body, now numbered with the things that are past. By that despatch, the Court directed the organization of Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. In pursuance of that despatch, in the first month of 1857, our University was founded. All throughout India was peaceful, and every thing appeared to promise a prosperous course to the new University. It had not been founded six months when the mutinies broke out. Removed, as we happily were, from the crash of arms, the mutinies had no direct effect upon our educational establishments, in Bengal. But it was impossible that the indirect effect of such a storm should not be felt even at those parts of the empire which were best sheltered and most remote from the centre

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\* Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 29th July, 1854, printed in the General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1857-58, Vol. 2, Appendix D. P. 1.

of its fury. With wars and rumours of wars; with men's hearts failing them for fear; with a state of apprehension which above all things, indisposes men's minds to a steady pursuit of academical studies, it could not be expected that the regular course of education in Bengal should not suffer. Powerful minds in Europe took alarm: and mistaking, as I believe they did, the causes of the fearful outbreak which deformed the fair face of the land, they augured gloomily of the success of the plans of 1854, and thought it would be prudent and expedient to retrace the steps then taken. Lord Ellenborough and Sir George Clerk, statesmen whose opinions are entitled to the greatest respect, in state papers penned\* with their usual ability, sounded the tocsin of alarm as to education, and authoritatively announced that the promised good had not been derived from the system of 1854, while they deprecated the increase of charge thereby caused. Surely it was one instance of the distorted views which the crisis of 1857 caused in the firmest minds, that such a verdict should have been pronounced early in 1858, while the new system had scarcely been established. Surely at any other time those

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\* Letter of the President of the Board of Control (Lord Ellenborough) to the Court of Directors of 28th April, 1858.

Memorandum, enclosed therein, of Sir George Clerk, Secretary to the India Board of 29th March, 1858.

Printed in the General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1857-58, Vol. I, pp. 25 to 55.

statesmen would have admitted that a system, announced in England in 1854, promulgated in India in 1855, matured, so far as the establishment of one University, in the first month of 1857, had had no fair trial by the fifth month of 1857, when the mutiny broke upon us. Among the services rendered by the late Lieutenant-Governor Mr. Halliday to the cause of Education, few, I think, have been more opportune or acceptable than that rendered by his reply to the Despatch and Minute, from which I will, with your permission, read an extract.

“But not only is the amount of expenditure complained of as excessive:—It is further said to have failed in producing the expected good.”

“What this expected good was I have already shown; and there is not one purpose enumerated, in which the plans of 1854 can be proved to have failed of effect. In the department of English Education, the schools are crowded up to their utmost capacity, and the demand for the highest degree of education is so great and so increasing, that we have been able in the Presidency College to double, and in several other schools considerably to enhance, the rate of fees, without, in any place, more than a slight and temporary diminution in the number of applications for admission, and in most instances without any falling off whatever. The University has been set on foot in a manner that has drawn forth the

warm approbation of the Home Government, and even in its infancy, it has already found scholars capable of receiving its Degrees, while several hundred young men have passed the Entrance University Examination. The classical languages of India are not less cultivated, or with less effect than formerly, and though there is, and long has been, room for improvement as to Arabic, such as I hope soon to see effected, the study of Sanskrit has advanced and extended. A marked effect has been produced upon the indigenous schools, not only in Bengal, but even in the less congenial atmosphere of Behar, and in the face of tumult and insurrection, great progress has been made under a judicious and liberal encouragement, in the compilation of Vernacular School Books, on which work some of the most capable minds are closely and successfully engaged;—and by the establishment of Normal and Model Schools, and a large and unexpectedly successful administration of a system of Grants-in-aid, an extraordinary stimulus has been given to vernacular education, not among boys only, but even, to some extent among girls, which nothing but the present financial difficulties has prevented from becoming enormously extended. Finally, the superintendence and inspection of the whole has been, in a remarkable degree, vigilant, intelligent, energetic, and successful. In what respect then



has the plan\* of 1854, failed of its 'expected good'."

When my honoured predecessor, Sir James Colville, addressed the Senate at the close of his useful career in India, he dwelt, in forcible language, upon the hurt and peril to the cause of education which the publication of that Despatch and minute caused.† The peril, he said, was, that what one minister of the Crown had advisedly done in this great cause, another minister of the Crown might denounce or undo. From that peril we are delivered, at least for the time. For the present minister of the Crown is that president of the Board of Control who sent out the noble Despatch of 1854; which may indeed be fairly called the Great Charter of Education in this country:—and he has since uniformly, to the great advantage I think, not merely of the University, but of education through the length and breadth of the land, maintained those sound principles which he vindicated in 1854, and which had been first adopted in 1835.

I have spoken of the opposition which the change of 1835 met with. Of the men chiefly instrumental in overcoming that opposition was one whose loss Europe is even now mourning,

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\* See Minute of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Mr. Halliday) of 19th Nov. 1858, printed in the General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1857-58, Vol. I, pp. 100, 101.

† Address to the Senate of Sir James Colville of 11th Dec. 1858.

and to whom all who hear me will permit me to refer for a moment, while I point out the claim he has to the gratitude of India. Indeed it is impossible in any society professing a love of literature to refer to any subject with which the late Mr. Macaulay was connected, without desiring to pay a tribute, however humble, to his memory. It was said of him at the time, by Sir Charles Trevelyan, who of all men living, was best able to appreciate his worth and the value of his support of education in India: that the change I have spoken of was "supported by one who, after adorning the literature of Europe came to its aid while trembling in the balance with the literature of Asia."\* It is remarkable that of the many productions of that beautiful and fertile intellect, which delighted all hearers and all readers, none were more masterly or were more admired even in Europe than those which had India for their object. His speech on the Charter Act of 1834:—his reviews of the time of Clive and Hastings: that gigantic product of the intellect of a single man, the Indian Penal Code:—were among the most powerful of his efforts. His scheme for the education of the civil servants for India in 1854, was also most masterly; although it has scarcely had a fair trial and it is, in my humble judgment to be deeply

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\* See Sir Charles Trevelyan on the Education of the People of India, p. 13.

regretted for the sake of the country that in order to meet a temporary want, that scheme was marred in its completeness. I am convinced that if it had been carried out in its original integrity, a great want in the service of the State would have been supplied.\* It may be of interest now that we are mourning his loss to read what he wrote a quarter of a century ago.

“How then stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue; we must teach them some foreign language, the claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate; it stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West: it abounds with works of imagination, not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature: with the most profound.

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\* The allusion, of course, was to the additional course of study for two years in England, after passing the first Examination, which formed part of Mr. Macaulay's original scheme. I thought at the time and have ever since thought that for the judicial service, this additional training (which involved attendance in the Courts of Law and a familiarity with the principles of Jurisprudence) would have been invaluable: and that the total abandonment of this part of the scheme (which followed upon its temporary suspension, in consequence, I believe of the want felt at the time of an increased number of civilians to meet the rapidly increasing demand) was deeply to be regretted.

speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all: in India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class; it is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government; it is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East: it is the language of two great European Communities which are rising, the one in the South Africa, the other in Australasia, communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian Empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.”\*

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\* Minute of the Right Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay on Education of 2nd February, 1835.

This extract, as every syllable his hand traced, bears the impress of his vivid and powerful mind. That masterly hand is now cold in the grave: that eloquent tongue to which Senates listened with delight is now mute: but the labours of that tongue and pen live, and will long bring forth fruit in this country. By none should his memory be more revered and regretted than by the intelligent Natives of India who can appreciate the beauty of his works, and prize the education which he aided in providing for them.

Some there are who still think that the late Court of Directors was premature in its establishment of a University:—and that the time has not arrived when sufficient interest is felt in India in the cause of education to justify the introduction of an institution which they consider emphatically in European one. To those who impute this want of interest in education to the Natives I would, on such an occasion as this, answer, “Look around.” Do those animated countenances, those looks beaming with intelligence, does this eager crowd of our youthful native fellow subjects of all classes betoken indifference among the youths of this country to academical distinction? Would those youths, or youths of equal education and respectability, have crowded in the same throng to witness a military display or any of those exhibitions

which in Europe have so much more attraction for youths? This is but one illustration, out of many, of the keen interest felt in regard to education by the respectable classes in Bengal. An honoured friend and colleague of ours, a native gentleman of the highest character and education, Ramaprasaud Ray, informed me, and I believe with perfect truth, when referring to the study of the law among his young countrymen, that so great is the thirst for education in it, that the difficulty is to keep them from over-working themselves and undermining their constitution in early youth. During the three years its own University has existed, about 2000 applicants have gone into the Entrance Examination in Bengal. A cry has gone forth throughout the land to the Government to help in the education of its people: and hard of heart indeed would that Government be, which allowed that cry to reach its ear in vain. But still less hard of heart would it be than mad and blind to its own interests if it turned a deaf ear to that cry. Of all the defences of a state, the surest, the best, and the cheapest, is the education of its people. Educate your people from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas; and a second mutiny of 1857, with all the horrors with which ignorance and superstition,—those twin-born allies, those worst enemies both of Governments and of governed,

inflamed it, will be impossible. Here again I would quote from Mr. Halliday.

“Those who have imbibed the greatest share of English ideas and knowledge have taken the least part in the recent troubles and atrocities: the best educated have been universally the best affected, and I know scarcely one well authenticated instance of a really educated native, I will not say joining, but even sympathizing with the rebels.”\*

It may be said: “If there is this strong desire for education in Bengal, why not let the people get it for themselves? The demand will create the supply; why should Government enter the market and force the article?” I answer by a question which was put by my predecessor. Does any one believe that, in the present state of India, Government can, with safety to the cause of sound education or with strict justice to the masses of the people, give up its own establishments?† It has done all that it can to encourage outside education, by establishing a University, in which its own schools and the schools independent of Government may meet in a fair field of open and honourable competition, without favour or affection to any. The University as yet, it is

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\* Mr. Halliday's address to the Medical College in April 1858, printed in the Report of Public Instruction for Bengal, Vol. 11, p. 63.

† Sir James Colville's address to the Senate, 11th December, 1858, p. 12.

true, has no local habitation: it has no professorships of its own, scarcely any endowments, none of those substantial attributes and allurements which grace our European Universities. But it at all events holds out to every college and school in India, whether supported by the Government or not, the opportunity of testing fairly the attainments of its pupils, not of enabling them to compete with students of every class and creed from every other Institution in the country.

Then, again, the religious difficulties of the question are thrust upon us—and it is said: If the Government and the European Members of the University are sincere about secular education of the people they must be insincere in their own religion. If sincere in their own religion they cannot be really sincere in their wish to impart a merely secular education. They must either attempt to gain proselytes in religion: or they must give an education which they themselves hold worthless. Now I wish emphatically to deny that the Government or that the University are placed in any such dilemma. Before they can be so placed, you must prove that the best and highest education which can be given to a people in morals, in literature, in every art and science, in political economy, is of no avail for secular purposes, unless it be united with pure religious instruction. Now, no one will be bold



enough to say that such an education will not be better than no education at all, so far as the material wants of the people, its prosperity, its commerce, its civilisation, are concerned. If so, and if it is certain that such an education will be cheerfully and gratefully accepted by the people, if they can be assured that their religious belief shall not be interfered with but equally certain that such an education will be rejected with loathing if there be the slightest suspicion of intermixture of religious teaching, surely the Government is bound by every tie of justice and humanity and sound policy to give them that education. And having taken upon itself to do so, is it not equally bound by every such tie, and by what may be thought perhaps a still more sacred tie, that of honour and good faith, to abstain from instilling indirectly that religious instruction, the absence of which, is the condition upon which alone their gift is accepted.

Such, gentlemen, are the principles upon which the Government has established our University. Such are the principles which that body endeavour faithfully to carry out: a body which, embracing every variety and shade of religious belief, is, I believe, honestly united in the desire to promote in this country the spread of that education which is adapted to its circumstances; an education which, while it will, we believe, infinitely benefit India, will also by that happy

and providential law of the reaction of good upon those who impart it, benefit England as the Ruler of India : and education which, I trust, may truly be “twice blessed : which blesseth him that takes and him that gives.”

And now in conclusion let me say a few words of encouragement and exhortation to our younger friends the successful candidates, on whom it will be my pleasing duty to confer Degrees. You have begun your career, as youths, well, manfully, and honourably ; I entreat you to continue it as upright, manful, honourable men. It has often been said that while in keenness and acuteness of intellect, in quickness of apprehension, and in the early development of the mental faculties the youths of this country surpass those of Europe, it is precisely at the point at which those qualities ought to bring forth fruit, that a falling off takes place among native youths ; and that in the higher qualities of judgment, reflection and invention, they lag behind in the race. I stop not to enquire in what degree this description is accurate : though I think no one accustomed to native education will deny that it is to a great extent true. But much of this difference may be accounted for by remembering, as was justly observed twenty years ago by the present Governor of Madras,\* that just at your age, the

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\* See Sir Charles Trevelyan on Education, p. 112.

young Englishman is entering upon a new and sterner education to fit him for the real battle of life in a profession or calling which requires the severest application of his mind, and opens out to him the highest emoluments and honours as prizes of his diligence. Whereas, until lately, no such career was opened, to any great extent, to the youths of this country; and they have often been at a loss to know to what account to turn the education they had received, which they, by a fatal error, conceived was finished, although the first act only had been completed.

I trust that gentlemen who have made such progress in sound learning as you have, you will be so imbued with the love of knowledge for its own sake,—which is the true end of all education,—as to preserve them under any circumstances from lapsing into the apathy of ignorance. But if material inducements are required (and they are found to be so in Europe), they are no longer wanting to you in this country, whatever they may have been heretofore. There is a career opening before you in which nothing can obstruct your progress if you are only true to yourselves. The Government of the country, as we hear daily, urgently requires a large and liberal employment of native agency, in higher grades than that agency has yet been generally employed in. But it is not the Government

alone who need this agency. The public need it also. For instance, take my own profession. There is scarcely any limit to the good that may be done to the administration of justice and, through it, to the people at large, by the formation of a learned, honourable, independent Bar, not only in the Presidency towns, but through the length and breadth of the land: and from what I have seen of the Bar of the Sudder Court, I see no reason why such a Bar should not be formed from the natives of this country. So in Medicine: so in Civil Engineering: so in Commerce: so in Agriculture: so in all the Arts and Sciences. In all of these the public needs your services. And the moment it finds it can trust you, it will remunerate you far better than the Government can afford to do. Though now a Government servant myself I shall rejoice when the day comes as come it will, I will not say when the employment of Government is valued less in India, but when independent employment is valued more, as being equally useful equally honourable, and far more lucrative to the person employed. What then can prevent the employment of native agency on this extended scale? Nothing save the belief that keen as are the intellects of the people of this country versatile as are their abilities there is not to be found among them the same high moral standard, the same steadfastness of purpose,

as is to be found among corresponding classes of Englishmen. Be it your task and nobler one I cannot conceive to vindicate the character of your countrymen in this respect; and to prove that the natives of India when they have received not a mere smattering of education, but that sound, practical education which alone gives tone to the human mind as an instrument of power, may in the higher qualities of judgment, integrity, resolution, and honour emulate the youths whom our English Universities send forth as successfully as you have emulated them in academic attainments.

Now what is wanted to qualify you for all this? To use an old but forcible form of expression; the first thing wanting is Perseverance; the second is Perseverance; and the third is Perseverance. It is as true now, as it was in the days of the great Historian of Greece, that to the greater part of mankind the search for truth is distasteful and they rather turn to what they find ready prepared to their hand. Two of the prevailing features, which probably in this country obstruct the reception of truth more than any others, are, first, a spirit of incredulity as to things we do not see immediately before us: and, secondly, a spirit of impatience in forming conclusions hastily upon imperfect evidence, and without taking into account what

fairly makes against them; or the tendency to rush after general principles upon imperfect or insufficient data. Do you strive against these failings. Where imagination and fancy predominated with you, strive to steady them by the love of fact, and reason, and justice.\* Where hard matter-of-fact and reasoning prevail in your mind, strive to elevate them by the admiration of what is wonderful in science and beautiful in morals. Above all things, by night and by day, by solitude and in the crowded haunts of men, in business, in pleasure, encourage in your minds the love of truth. Let no dazzling temptation, no temporary gain, no certainty of escaping detection, lead you to swerve by one hair's breadth from the line which your conscience tells you is traced by the sacred hand of Truth. Let Truth be the foundation; and justice, integrity and independence the superstructure of all your efforts in life. So shall you live honoured and respected by your fellow countrymen. So shall you extort from your British fellow subjects the cheerful admission that as you are entitled to the protection of the same sovereign; so are you entitled to claim the same proud birth-right of freedom which is their boast. So shall you to your dying day look back with honest gratification upon that education which has taught you to

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\* See an admirable lecture of Dr. Arnold on the Division of Knowledge, Miscellaneous Works, p. 417.

distinguish between truth and falsehood in morals and in science ; and to cleave to that wisdom, the merchandise whereof is better than the merchandise of silver.

*The 6th March, 1861.*

The Right Hon'ble Charles John Earl Canning,  
*Chancellor.*

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE :

It has been a matter of great regret to me that I have been compelled to absent myself on the last two occasions similar to the present. It would have been agreeable in the extreme to me to have gathered the first early fruits of that foundation, which was established four years ago amid the not too sanguine expectations of those who were not only desirous of benefiting the Natives, but jealously anxious for the credit of the British rule in India. Matters of importance in another part of the country prevented me from presiding on those occasions, but my regret at that absence has been much alleviated by the fact that I had left the duty in such able hands as those of the learned Vice-Chancellor. I am glad to say that the experience of three years affords good ground for congratulation, that the progress of the Calcutta University has been such as to satisfy the most sanguine. The annual number of the candidates for admission has risen from 280 in 1857 to 800—a much larger number than that of the London University, on which this University has been modelled. It



is true that many of these candidates have not passed, but considering the infancy of the institution that is not to be wondered at. The number of candidates who have been educated at schools not supported by Government or affiliated to the University has also been rapidly increasing. Internally the University is beginning to feel its way by the introduction of many improvements, new rules and regulations. During the course of *the previous year, an examination preliminary* to that for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts has been instituted, as well as the appointment of Licentiates both in Law and Engineering. In these improvements, the University has wisely followed the example of those in the sister Presidencies, and I mention this in the hope that no invidious prejudices will be allowed to stand in the way when any good can be gained by introducing the measures of other colleges. One thing, however, I desire to say with reference to this subject. The standard for proficiency for Degree had been considered by some as too high, but, after a careful examination of details and consequences, I am of opinion that the University has acted well and wisely in what has been done, and on this point I would be sorry to see any approximation to the course adopted by the other Universities. I have dwelt on these points to show how far the results go to dissipate the apprehensions that were once entertained. I can

remember how it was said that the intention of the institution would not be understood, that it would be beyond the scope of the Native mind; how great has been the mistake made in such apprehensions. Not only is the object understood, but the institution itself has grown with a rapidity wonderful even in its novelty. It has been said that it would injure private schools. But results show just the opposite, for it is evident to all that such schools have increased. We were told that we were beginning at the wrong end, that we ought first to educate the lower classes and so work upward to the higher ones. That is a difficult question, one of policy. I myself cannot agree with those who think that our chief duty here is to confine our Western learning solely to those middle classes who mostly look to Government employment as a means of living. There has been a prevalent opinion that the Government would do wrong in providing education for those who are not exactly dependent on a profession for their support and that it might very wisely leave the upper classes to seek their own means of education. I think this a pernicious and dangerous policy. I think that any Government can scarcely be justified in adopting such a course, and least of all that of India as governed by England. The position of our Government here is not one which can neglect such an important

duty. I would ask my own countrymen present *to measure the land they were now living in ; to measure it not only on the map, though even then its immensity is conspicuous ; but to measure and compare it with the continent of Europe.* All the Western Kingdoms from France and Austria to Norway and Sweden would scarcely, even when united, make one-third of gigantic India. So much for area. But in population too, there is an excess in this country of 50 millions over that of any I have mentioned. What would any man say if, by a turn of fortune, all the countries of Europe, ruled by distant monarchs, and presided over by a nobility and gentry, not one whit more particular in their class notions than those of Hindustan, were thrust under the rule of one potentate? Can we believe that that potentate would hesitate a moment in calling the intellect and experience of the Natives of his varied dominions to aid him with their council? I trust that Englishmen have learnt that they had something to repay India for, and that if disposed to hold out the hand of friendship to the Natives, it would be their duty also to make them sharers in the learning of their Western home. I expect no magic results from the Calcutta University, but I do hope, as years roll on, to see the Native Gentry eagerly seeking after such distinctions as I have this day conferred. I say, "distinctions,"

because I hope that many wealthy gentlemen, independent of their own exertions, will make such honors an object of ambition. I shall now address a few words of advice to you, the successful candidates of the year. Judging from my own experience, the first advice I would give you would be not to sit down contented with what you have done. There is no greater danger to which the successful student is exposed than the whisperings of the Syren Indolence. I know more instances that I care to remember, of Englishmen who had won high college honors, which very honors had paralysed their after careers. I would advise the Natives of this country who had less energy and "backbone" than Europeans not to think their task was over. You have only breathed the first wave of the opposing tide, only climbed to the edge of the table-land over which your course is to be seen. You have now more to prove to the world than that you have gained the diploma. You have to prove that education has affected you morally as well as intellectually. I have one more word of advice to give you, and I trust you will take it in good part, as it is meant. I think it unlikely that you should have been so long searchers after truth in all its phases, scientific and otherwise, without acquiring the ambition to know the truth thoroughly and when known and seen, to adhere to it. I assure you that perseverance

and adherence to truth will carry any man, however humble his rank, over his fellows. I am certain that a man who is prepared to seek, *adhere and sacrifice* himself to truth, is sure to *leave his mark* on his work whatever his profession may be. *Distinction* is not always the reward of all, but it is in every man's power to do something, however little, for the public good.

[ The Vice-Chancellor moved a vote of thanks to His Excellency for his kind, and generous behaviour in leaving important matters of State to preside on that occasion. It would not become him in such a presence to comment upon the speech they had heard, but he was certain all would agree with him in appreciating the kindness and generosity of its tone. He was certain too that all would join with him in the wish to have it preserved in the record of the University. Such an address was replete with interest to all who had the interest of education in India at heart, and it was doubly gratifying to remember that those kind words had fallen from the lips of one who commenced his career with well and hardly won honors at Oxford, the son of that great orator whose proudest boast was that in his mature age he represented the University of his youth. He would move that the thanks of the meeting should be offered to His Excellency, and

that he should be requested to allow his address to be printed and deposited in the records of the University.

The Lord Bishop of Calcutta having seconded the motion, His Excellency replied in a few graceful and well-chosen words of assent, and left the hall.]

*The 2nd April, 1862.*

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR, THE HON'BLE MR. W. RITCHIE, HAVING SUDDENLY DIED, THE SENIOR FELLOW, THE RIGHT REV. G. E. L. COTTON, LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA, MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH :

I think, Sir, that when we entered this room, one feeling must have been present to the minds of us all. We missed the familiar face of one, who was not wont to absent himself from our annual gatherings, who held among us the office which, though only second in dignity, is undoubtedly first in practical importance, and who has sometimes, in virtue of that office, addressed to us, on these occasions, grave and kindly words of advice and encouragement. The voice which spoke those words can be heard no more among men, and it would be a heartless and ungracious thing to begin the work of conferring honour on the living, without some tribute of gratitude and affection to the memory of the dead. And I am sure that never could such tribute be more fitly paid than by the University of Calcutta to its late Vice-Chancellor. I have alluded to his services as presiding in our Senate, but I do not rest his claims to our grateful remembrance upon his appearances on

occasions of public debate or formal ceremony. The office of Vice-Chancellor of this University is no merely public or formal dignity, its duties cannot be discharged without much conscientious labour, and a real sacrifice of time and thought. How Mr. Ritchie performed this I can tell this assembly, if it needs to be told, from a somewhat intimate experience. During the last year I have had the honor of sitting with him in the Syndicate, and I can therefore testify to the hearty zeal, the earnest diligence, and thorough knowledge of minute details with which he entered into all our discussions. It would be an exaggeration to attribute to any man a love for a University like ours, which can as yet boast of no time-honored or ennobling associations, and which has not even a local habitation to give form and visible reality to its name. But if Mr. Ritchie could not feel a love for this University, such as we entertain towards those familiar scenes in which we received our education in youth, or worked in later life, I am quite sure that he at least regarded it with a living interest and pleasure and pride, that he looked forward to its future with hope and confidence, and that in the midst of absorbing professional duties, he never shrank from voluntary and hearty labour in its cause. Having accepted a difficult and responsible office, he knew that it was the part of an upright man



to make that responsibility a reality. He brought to bear upon it a threefold knowledge, a twenty years' experience of India, a knowledge of law in which he had few rivals in this country, and a knowledge of general English education acquired at the two illustrious seminaries of Eton and Cambridge. And when, in addition to these recollections of his services, I remind you of that kindness of soul, and geniality of manner, which toil and weariness never quenched, which added friendliness to our meetings and warmth to our interest in our duties, I am sure that there is no heart here which will not grieve for his loss, to our weak judgments so premature, and reverence his memory and cherish his example. And this thought of his example leads me to address a few concluding words to you, my friends, the students of this University, who are assembled here to-day to receive from us the honorable distinctions of which you have proved yourselves worthy. For obvious reasons, I cannot speak to this mixed assembly all that is in my heart to say on such a subject. But still we have much common ground, I can remind you that your Vice-Chancellor was a thoroughly good man, and that his goodness showed itself in a manner full of instruction for you. It is natural that, in pursuing your academical studies, you should be incited to industry, not only by their

intrinsic value, but by the hope of attaining through them, success on a wider stage than that of the University, of securing for yourselves, in the battle of life, worldly comfort and honour. The existence of such motives, inferior though they are, is inevitable, and we ourselves sanction them by attaching outward rewards to diligence and ability. But this makes it the more necessary that we should warn you that they are not without their drawbacks. Worldly success is very apt to make us selfish, worldly honour to make us arrogant or vain, popularity to turn us into timorous or unstable seekers after human applause. It is good for us then to contemplate one example in which these lawful objects are attained, and the perils attending them avoided. Our late Vice-Chancellor was a man who reached a high degree of prosperity and popularity, and yet remained entirely unspoiled. The increase of wealth never chilled his free-hearted benevolence, the regard and applause of his contemporaries never led him to do violence to his conscience for the sake of men's approbation. Try to imitate him in these things. Try to live for others for some good end, some object not quite ephemeral, something better than money and self-indulgence. Try to bear your part, humble though it may be, in making the millions of your fellow-countrymen happier, wiser, better than they are. He, for whom we are this day

sorrowing, desired and laboured that every one of you should be helped, through the education encouraged by this University,

At least not rotting like a weed,  
But having sown some generous seed,  
Fruitful of further thought and deed,  
To pass, when life her light withdraws,  
Not void of righteous self-applause,  
Nor in a merely selfish cause,  
In some good cause, not in his own,  
To perish wept for, honoured, known.

But I am straying from the subject on which I was instructed to speak to you, and I will therefore at once propose, without detaining you longer, that the following Resolutions be adopted by the Senate and recorded in this day's proceedings :—

“The Senate of the University of Calcutta on the occasion of their annual public meeting, desire to express their deep sense of the grievous loss which the University has sustained in the death of its Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble William Ritchie.

“The Senate sorrowfully but thankfully record their obligations to Mr. Ritchie for his kindness and courtesy in presiding over their deliberations, for the warm interest which he felt in the welfare of the University, for the accurate knowledge which he acquired of all the details

of its management, for the enlightened view which he took of its future influence on the moral and intellectual improvement of India, for the conscientious diligence and untiring zeal with which he devoted time and trouble to the concerns of a purely honorary office, in spite of the engrossing cares which fell upon him, first as Advocate-General and more recently as a member of the Supreme Council.

“The Senate believe that the kindness, diligence, uprightness, and liberality which thus distinguished Mr. Ritchie in his connection with the University, were only instances of the principles which guided his whole life, so that for the sake of India, no less than of the particular institution entrusted to their Government, they regard his loss as a great public calamity.

“They are sure that though he has been thus early removed from his career of usefulness, his memory will not soon pass away, but will long be cherished as an example to themselves and to all connected with the University, of the spirit in which responsibility should be accepted and duty discharged.”

The Hon'ble Cecil Beadon seconded the Resolution and said :

Sir,—I am sure that all here present must have cordially agreed in every word that has been spoken by the Lord Bishop, and that I

may venture both for myself and on behalf of the members of the Senate to express our thanks for the just and eloquent tribute he has paid to the memory of our friend and colleague, and for the admirable exhortation he has addressed to the young graduates of the University. I will not mar the effect of His Lordship's words by any further observations of my own, but will content myself by seconding the Resolutions which have been read to the Meeting.

*The 2nd April, 1862*

The Hon'ble Sir John Peter Grant

*Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

You will not expect from me, on this occasion, an elaborate discourse, such as we have had the pleasure and great advantage of hearing on former occasions of this nature, when a Chancellor or a Vice-Chancellor of the University has presided at the conferring of degrees. I fill this situation on this occasion only by the accident which finds me to-day your Senior Fellow, and it would be presumptuous in one who, in comparison with those whom he addresses, has so much to learn and so little to teach, to occupy your time at any length. Indeed I might have asked to be excused from making any address to you, but for two reasons; one, because I should regret if what I believe to be a good and wholesome practice were to be broken through by default of mine; the other because I should regret if those of our young friends around who will sever their connexion with our University to-day, were to leave this hall without a word of kindly encouragement and parting advice.

Like my friend, Mr. Beadon, I would not, by any rude words of mine, deaden the effect of those

eloquent and touching expressions with which the Lord Bishop moved us to do due honor to the memory of our late Vice-Chancellor. But having to speak on this occasion, I cannot but keenly feel why it is that I am addressing you, and why it is that I am not in my more proper and more suitable place, sitting amongst you as a listener to the address of another. One word on this sad subject will be allowed me. Death has indeed been visibly stalking amongst us of late ; striking our highest, our brightest, our best. This is not the place for the show of mere private sorrow. But when private sorrow does but intensify our sense of a public calamity, and notably a calamity to this University, we do well, on such an occasion as this, publicly to deplore our loss, and openly to manifest the grief that fills us.

The year that has just passed has been marked by no striking change in the important department to which this University belongs. But the progress of the University has not been the less steady, or the less sure. It has been of that uniform and constant character which is the best augury of complete success. In his address to us last year, Lord Canning congratulated us on the number of candidates for admission, which in 1857 had been 244, having risen to 808 last year, This year I can tell you, from a note I have in my hand, that the candidates for

admission numbered 1058; that is an increase of nearly one-third. Surely, here is an encouraging proof of progress ; a proof that the University is striking its young roots deeply and widely into the ground. The number of boys in the provinces attached to the University who, having completed a School course, desire to commence a College course, are more by one-third now than they were one year ago. Five years ago, the number of students who had persevered in their College course to the end, and then succeeded in obtaining a Bachelor's Degree in Arts, was two. This year it was twenty-four, being multiplied twelve-fold. In Law, though the numbers have not increased quite so much as I wish they had, the result of the teaching has been admirable, for all who tried for the B.L. Degree succeeded. One improvement, which I think of importance, has been carried into operation for the first time this past year, I mean a middle examination after the close of the first two years, the first half that is, of a College course. We know that in this country the mass of College students are constrained, and constrained by necessities which we cannot withstand, to leave the Colleges when only half the course has been gone through. In this state of things, it is a fair and suitable arrangement that there should be an Examination and a pass at this period of the full course. The measure has been quite



successful. No less than ninety-seven students passed at this middle Examination this last year. It must be remembered that this steady progress has been made under very adverse circumstances. The University was constituted in 1857, that year of terrible events, which, when we look back, appear even now rather as the recollection of a bad dream, than as a reality we have experienced. The mere financial consequence of those events has been to stop all new grants of money for educational objects, from that time to this. Now, Indian education does not wholly depend upon Government money, but we all know how much it depends upon Government money, and how much it must, for years to come, depend upon that support, in one form or another. And though education has not advanced with those rapid strides with which certainly it would have advanced, had increased means been available, the progress I have shown, which I maintain has been a true and a very considerable progress, has nevertheless been made.

And I look now for better times. Our public finances are in the hands of one who, I am sure, is wisely economical in less needful things, in the hope that he may soon have it in his power to be wisely liberal in things that are the most needful. I make no doubt that the Government of India, whenever it may have it in its power

to relax existing restrictions, will recognise Indian education as an object of the first importance. The other day, Lord Canning told us, and the Lord Bishop has to-day alluded to the same subject, how much he regretted that financial considerations had prevented our Senate having, by this time, a local habitation. I have a strong belief that another year will not pass away without seeing arrangements for a Senate house in progress. In the department with which I am more closely connected, I know that in this respect better times have arrived. The Presidency College, which has been talked of as a want for more years than I care to reckon, is now to become a reality. The land for its site has been selected and procured. A plan of the edifice, which in its architecture I trust will be not unworthy of its noble purpose, has been prepared and approved. And in the budget of the coming year, a lac and a half of rupees have been set down with which to commence its construction. By this time next year I make no doubt the Presidency College will be visible above ground. Nor is it only for bricks and mortar that new means, as I fully expect, will be forthcoming. The Government of India has authorized the local governments to ask for some additional grants for such educational objects as may seem most pressing. This opening you may be sure has been taken advantage

of, and I doubt not that something new will, this next year, be allowed.

I hope that the additional means which I anticipate, when available, will be applied in those parts of the country where the assistance of Government is most required for the encouragement of education. I am not one of those who think public money spent on education is most economically spent where the greatest number of boys can be taught for any given amount. In such places I believe public money may be sometimes almost wasted. Where it is most usefully applied is where education is most backward, and where Government action is required to give it a first impetus; as for example in Behar, which may be called the Bœotia of India. I have proposed the constitution of a High School at Patna, where now is, I believe, the least hopeful Zilla School under the Bengal Government; and if the system introduced in the Anglo-Persian Department of the Arabic College in Calcutta is as successful amongst the Mahomedans of Patna as it has been amongst those of Calcutta, the School will soon expand into a Provincial College.

I do not remember any other points to which I need call the attention of the Senate, relating to the operations of the past year, and the prospects of the coming year. But I desire to address a few words to you who have taken

your Degree to-day, and to our other young friends around. I wish to speak to you in words of more weight than any words of mine can carry. Most of you were present last year, when Lord Canning addressed you. Believe me that the time will come when you will look back with pleasure at having had the good fortune of having been, as, young College Students, addressed by that good and eminent Statesman. I ask you to recall his words to memory, and to impress them for ever on your minds. What did he tell you? He told you to beware of that indolence and apathy which are apt to steal upon you from this moment of your lives. He spoke of frequent instances within his own experience in England, in which men, who had earned high honours at College, had sunk from that moment, and had come to nothing because from that moment they abandoned themselves to indolence. He said most truly that the same fault was infinitely more common and more fatal here. He exhorted you still to go on as you had begun. Never forget that counsel. Again he told you that mental cultivation is as nothing unless it brings with it, as it always should bring with it, the improvement and exaltation of the whole character. Let this thought never be absent from your minds. And lastly he told you, and this most emphatically he told you, as you had been studying the

truths of science in your College course, to seek and hold fast the truth in all things, throughout your after-life. He assured you that adherence through life to this one principle would raise even a man of moderate attainments and moderate ability to a high position amongst his fellows. Lay this to your hearts. Hold to it for life.

I look upon you, Graduates of this University, you and your successors, as having an important part to play if you choose to play it. A body of men of cultivated minds with industry and with high character cannot fail in any country to have vast influence for good. I look to you by that influence constantly acting, to raise the character of your countrymen at large. But if this is to be, you must not now relax in your exertions. Above all, you must not imagine your education completed. The education of a human being begins with his first breath and ends only with the decay of mind in his old age. And be sure of this that when it is not advancing it is retrograding; retrograding too often with a terrible rapidity. I heartily congratulate those of you who have to-day earned the reward of much hard toil. But if you stop here, you throw away what you have gained. You have learnt your drill, and you are fit to take your places as young soldiers in the ranks. But the battle of life is all before you. If you now flag, you will lose the day.

With every good wish for your success in life, I bid you affectionately farewell.

The Hon'ble Samuel Laing moved that the address of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Lord Bishop be printed, saying :

I have been requested to move this resolution. I do not do so as a matter of form but as an University man myself and one who was mainly indebted for success in life to the advantages of an University Education. I feel the deepest interest in anything which relates to the birth and progress of a kindred Institution worthy of this great empire.

I must confess that I am ambitious for the future of India, and think we should be satisfied with nothing short of an University of world-wide reputation, whose degrees will carry with them a *prestige* equal to that of the first European Universities and which in every way might be a fitting centre for the higher education and intelligences of a great and flourishing nation. The Lieutenant-Governor has alluded to the state of the Finances, and no doubt it is a subject of congratulation to all, including the members of the Government, that prospects have so far improved as to hold out a hope of doing more for education and for at length providing institutions like the University of India with a local habitation. But to build up such an University as would be really worthy

of India is an office not of money only. It can be done only by the continued efforts of wise and good men co-operating towards a common object. Hence it appears to me most desirable that such efforts should not be left entirely to the fugitive impressions of spoken words; but should, as far as possible, be recorded and perpetuated in print.

We have heard to-day an admirable summary from the Lieutenant-Governor of the progress which has been made up to the present time by the University, and an excellent practical address to the young men who, having distinguished themselves by attaining its honours are about to enter on the serious battle of life. We have heard also from the Lord Bishop a most eloquent and touching appeal to all the higher and better feelings of all classes, races, and religions in connection with the memory of our late Vice-Chancellor whose name will long be held in affectionate veneration by his friends and by the University.

It appears to me important that such speeches as these shall not be lost, and that we should afford the general community the means of knowing facts and hearing sentiments which redound to the credit of the University and from which none can fail to derive benefit.

***The 16th March, 1863.***

The Hon'ble Mr. Claudius James Erskine,  
*Vice-Chancellor.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

It has been usual, as you are aware, that the Distribution of Degrees should take place at our Annual Meeting, when a report on the affairs of the University for the past year is proposed for adoption, and when the Faculties are reconstituted for the year that is to ensue. As, however, it is apparent that these and other matters of business can be properly arranged only under circumstances which admit a free discussion, it is proposed that hereafter the Annual Meeting shall not be held until the academic year is drawn to its close, that is to say, towards the end of April; but that there shall be a special convocation for conferring Degrees as soon as possible after the results of the Examinations are declared. This, it will be understood, is the reason why the scope of our proceedings to-day will be more limited than usual, and, with your permission, I will at once request the Registrar to announce the names of those who are recommended for the Degree of Doctor of Medicine, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws and Bachelor of Arts. But before the gentlemen



are summoned to receive the Honors they have earned so well, I should perhaps remind you that on no previous occasion have we had the gratification of admitting any students to the higher Degree of Master of Arts. In past years there may have been some disappointment in this respect. But the results of the examinations which have just closed, are very encouraging; six out of seven candidates who presented themselves, having been pronounced fully qualified. These young men have thus the high distinction, which I am sure they will justly prize, of being the first to lead the way in this truly honorable career. In like manner in the Faculty of Medicine, I believe that the first student of the Medical College who was admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Medicine in Europe, has this day taken his seat among us as a Member of the Senate; while the first student of that College who has been recommended for admission to the same honorable Degree in India is now about to receive his Diploma. This also is a very welcome sign of progress, and just ground of congratulation.

*( After the distribution of the Degrees )*

GENTLEMEN,

It must be cause of great regret to all of us, especially to those who have just received these

recognitions of honourable success, that we are unavoidably deprived of the presence among us to-day of His Excellency the Chancellor of this University. Words of congratulation and encouragement from him would have found their way to the hearts of many with peculiar force ; and it would, I am sure, have been a pleasure to His Excellency to be able to give this proof of the great interest which he takes in our affairs and in the cause of Indian Education generally. Unhappily, however, it was not possible on this occasion to make any arrangement by which that object could have been secured.

It must be in the recollection of most of us, Gentlemen, that almost as on this day just twelve months ago we met together on an occasion to which subsequent events have given a melancholy interest. We assembled in order that an address might be presented on our behalf by one who was then a second time our Vice-Chancellor to one who had just laid down his office as First Chancellor of this University and First Viceroy of India. Within three weeks from that day Mr. Ritchie was among us no more—and in little more than as many months Lord Canning too had been called away. To the memory of Mr. Ritchie an earnest and feeling tribute was paid at our last year's meeting ; and, although Lord Canning at the time of his death had ceased to be personally associated with our

body, I believe that I should ill have consulted your wishes, had I allowed this occasion to pass without expressing what, I am sure, is a universal feeling among us, of sincere regret at his loss and unfeigned respect for his memory. Knowing, as he did, how much England owes to her ancient seats of learning, he could not but feel—and even under the pressure of grave public cares he did not fail to shew—a true interest in the establishment under his own auspices of a University System in India. Our parting address said truly that his example might well convince our students, how important are a thorough academical education, and high literary culture, in the fulfilment of the largest public functions. Rarely indeed, where such accomplishments are wanting, will there be found that elevation of mind, that refinement and dignity of character, which eminently marked Lord Canning; and a sense of which—and of his fixed desire to do the thing that was just and right—deepened the general sorrow when he was suddenly struck down in the maturity of his powers and of his great reputation. Had he lived, this Senate, over which for five years he had presided, might have looked confidently to him for support in the great work that lies before it. But now, the possibility of that is past; and there is much to sadden as well as to encourage in the reflection, that the name which stands first on the list of

our Chancellors will long recall to Indian students some of the finest qualities which it is the aim of a University to call out and to honour.

Almost the last words addressed to us by Lord Canning conveyed an expression of regret that the Administration over which he presided had been prevented by civil troubles and financial difficulties from doing more for Education, especially that of the higher ranks of native society, and from giving to our University a local habitation of its own. Since that time you have brought this last point again to the notice of the Government—and, during the last few weeks, the Examiners of this year have also called attention to the great inconvenience that results from the want of suitable accommodation. The Senate, I am sure, acted wisely when they explained as clearly as they did, the extent, not merely of our actual, but also of our prospective requirements in this respect. For, if provision be made at once for our Examinations and general Meetings, it is certainly less important that these Buildings should be rapidly completed than that they should be commenced on a scale, in a style, and with accessories worthy of the great object for which they are designed. It has been said, by no mean judge, of some who once ruled in this country, that they used to build like giants and to finish their work like jewellers. And it would be especially unfortunate

if an inappropriate edifice were assigned to this, the first-born of Indian Universities in the greatest of modern Indian cities. We must hope for a structure which shall be of an imposing and noble aspect—fitted, not merely to minister to “material uses,” but to strike the imagination and to retain its hold on the memory. But, if this is to be so, we must hope also that private liberality will connect itself by free-will offerings with the design. There must be provision for an ample Library ; may we not hope to see there, as we have seen elsewhere, if not entire departments, at least large memorial Cabinets of Books or Manuscripts, commemorating at once the learning of some distinguished Fellow, and the piety of his friends ? There must be a spacious Senate House ; and there I trust you may be able, with the aid of the same liberality, to accumulate “visible presentments” of the eminent men who have done most for the promotion of education in Bengal, as well as for the affairs of the University. The names of many such men will occur to all of us, from the time of Warren Hastings and Sir W. Jones—from the time when men so different in many things as Raja Ram Mohan Ray and Bishop Heber were in common expecting the advent of a better system—from the time of the inauguration of that system, which may well be called the Reformation of Learning in

Bengal, under statesmen like Lord Metcalfe and Lord W. Bentinck, by the exertions of a small company of distinguished men—one of whom we are fortunate in having among us again—with the great Lord Macaulay at their head. And, gentlemen, among our own colleagues too have been some, the memory of whose services, attainments, and devoted lives, the University would not willingly let die. To those who are still with us I must not allude ; and the day, I trust, is far distant when you will be deprived of the presence of any of them. But already one or two have been taken away. Among our native colleagues, I need only allude to the distinguished son of Raja Ram Mohan Ray whom we miss since our last year's meeting. Among my own countrymen I may name especially, Colonel Baird Smith, Mr. Ritchie and Lord Canning. I cannot persuade myself, Gentlemen, that these are matters of trifling importance. The bareness that has been justly imputed to many of our institutions here is in itself no inconsiderable evil. Gradually we may do much to remove this defect from our University if we are diligent to surround it with suitable associations. In some degree even the gravity of academic discipline and ceremonies ; much more, common studies in the retirement of a great Library, the attractions of appropriate architecture, memorials of the munificence of

wealthy benefactors ; but most of all, personal recollections of learned and venerable men, will in time do much to endear the place to those who frequent it. From year to year there will be more and more on which their minds will fall back with a sense of relief and refreshment amid the trials and tumult of after-life. And yet, no doubt, it would be unwise to lean too much on such associations here. To remove the bareness that offends is a plain matter of prudence ; but our primary duty must be to look forward. We cannot have the rich traditions of an old University ; but we may enter all the more freely into the animating anticipations of a young one. What these should be was strongly impressed on my mind lately in reading a remarkable letter of Dr. Livingstone, the great African explorer. Writing to the Managers of the University Mission to Africa, when they had sustained a severe loss in the death of good Bishop Mackenzie, he used some such words as these—"If I might venture to address the great men who adorn our ancient Universities, who look back with veneration to the Founders of those noble Institutions, I would ask, Is it not then inspiring to stand at the beginning of things ? You glory in illustrious ancestors ; is it not as noble to initiate a change in the mind of a nation ? to plant in a growing empire powers that must influence its

people for ages ?” Surely, Gentlemen, it is—and we at least may be rich in such hopes for the Future almost in proportion as we are poor in memorials of the Past.

Our Past as a University is indeed but of yesterday. We are still in our infancy ; a season rather of quiet growth than of any great achievements. But growth there certainly has been ; as indicated not merely by the admission of students to-day to the highest Degrees which we have to confer ; but also in other ways. No one for instance now doubts—as some but a year or two ago appeared to doubt—that Universities have established themselves as a permanent part of our system in this country ; or that there is a growing approximation of views as to the conditions under which they must progress. And which is of greater importance still—the idea of a University, of its office and uses, has become familiar to the minds of many of the natives of this country, especially of those who reside in the neighbourhood of the greater cities. This is no inconsiderable gain. For, after all, only nine years have elapsed since the system was elaborated under the administration of Lord Dalhousie ; only six years, since the Universities came into being under the administration of Lord Canning. They arose, as has been often noted, in that year of convulsion, which did so much to unsettle men’s minds, and to consume



resources that might have been devoted to Progress and Learning. With the return of better times we may look for a further expansion especially of these Institutions, which were in their origin a legacy of that great Corporation the history of which is such a remarkable feature in the recent history of England; which in their early guardianship have been among the first fruits of an Imperial Rule in this country; and which will yet, let us hope, as they tend to maturity, do much to encourage a freer development of public spirit and literary life in India.

The six years which have just passed prove that the establishment of this University was not premature, by proving that agencies were at work capable of training a considerable number of candidates of whom a fair proportion would be successful according to the standards adopted by the University. This is clear from facts already before us, of which a *precis* has been kindly furnished to me. It appears that since the opening of the University 2,225 young men have been admitted as Under-graduates; of whom during the last two years, nearly 200 have passed the First Examination in Arts; while, from the first, 89 have taken the Degree of Bachelor of Arts; and during the present year—thanks to the emergency and industry of those who have been admitted to this Honour to-day,—6 have graduated as Masters of Arts. Turning to the

professional Faculties; 20 have passed as Licentiates in Engineering; 21 have passed as Licentiates in Medicine, 4 have taken Honours in Medicine, and one has just been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Medicine; in Law, 27 have passed (at the last three Examinations) as Licentiates, and from the first 54 have passed as Bachelors. Meanwhile the number of affiliated Institutions has risen to 25; of which 6—including St. Xavier's College in Calcutta, Joy Narain's College in Benares, and St. John's College in Agra—were affiliated during the past year. If we enquire, who are chiefly entering on University careers, we find that the Mussulmans are the most backward, and that the Hindus are pressing on most of all. Only 4 Christian candidates have as yet graduated as Bachelors of Arts; only 3 have passed as Bachelors of Law; only 2 as Licentiates of Medicine; only 1 as Licentiate of Engineering. One Mussulman candidate only has graduated as a Bachelor of Arts; and not one has passed even as Licentiate in any of the Professional Faculties. If—viewing it in another light—we confine our attention to the Entrance Examinations in the Faculty of Arts during the present year, we find that 1,114 were admitted to the Entrance Examination, of whom 1,043 were from Bengal, 43 were from the North-Western Provinces, 19 from the Punjab, and 9 from Ceylon. Of

477 who passed the Entrance Examination, 445 were from Bengal, 16 were from the North-Western Provinces, 9 were from the Punjab, and 7 from Ceylon. Only 62 therefore out of 1,114 who were admitted to that Examination, and only 32 out of 477 who passed that Examination, were from territories beyond Bengal. As the Entrance Examinations are not held in Bengal alone, these results seem to suggest some interesting enquiries. While however the schools send up in one year more than 1,100 candidates for Entrance, of whom more than  $\frac{1}{7}$ ths succeed; and 220 candidates for the First Examination in Arts of whom nearly 100 succeed; and 35 candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts of whom 25 succeed; and 7 candidates for the Degree of Master of Arts, of whom 6 succeed; it must be admitted that there is important work for the University to do, in all its various grades.

There are one or two other aspects in which it may be well to regard the working of the University—for instance in the regulation of courses of study, in the application of tests by Examination, and in the encouragement of higher education generally. Looking to the regulative power by which the University imposes its schemes and methods of study on affiliated and preparatory institutions, it is clear that the general principles by which it should be guided

had been practically determined beforehand, whether in the older Universities of Europe or in those which have more recently been founded to meet the growing wants of the time. There were, however, peculiarities in the position here which called for consideration ; and these as you know, were carefully considered before the University was incorporated. The scheme then framed, and since from time to time revised—claiming as it does the sanction of a body so influential as the Senate—is impressing itself widely on the schools ; and has, on the whole, secured much support. But a few suggestions, not unimportant, have been made for its amendment ; one or two of which I may be allowed to recommend to your consideration, in view to their discussion hereafter. In the courses which prepare for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, this University, like others, leans mainly on languages and Mathematics as its instruments of mental discipline ; but at the Examinations for that Degree, it requires also evidence of proficiency in three other branches of knowledge, and it has been doubted whether this multiplication of tests has not been carried so far as to interfere to some extent with that concentration of the attention, that habit of accurate and thorough study, without which there can be of course no valuable intellectual training. This doubt has given rise to various suggestions, one of which relates

to the branch of the Physical Sciences. It is thought by some even of those who most fully recognise the great uses and achievements of those sciences, the great attractions which they possess for many minds, and their special value in this country as counteracting the subjective tendencies of the Indian intellect, that nevertheless they should be allowed to disappear from the compulsory portion of the ordinary courses ; that they should be gathered into one or two groups, with which a group of subjects in Natural Philosophy should be co-ordinated, and that the candidate should be required to profess one of these groups at his option. An arrangement of this kind would, I believe, receive support from some of those whose judgments on such a subject are most deserving of respect. A more difficult question, perhaps, has been suggested in connection with the Branch of Languages. It is thought by many that students who, in the lower courses have professed one of the Vernacular Languages of India as their Second Language, should not on coming forward for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts be examined in that Language, but in the elements of the Indian Classical Language with which it has affinity. Judging from the results of an enquiry made some months ago, it would seem that a change in this direction would be approved by many of those who are practically engaged in education in these

Provinces, and who believe that candidates approved after trial by such a modified test would be more accomplished scholars in their own Languages, while they would also be better prepared to go forward for Honours in the Classical Languages of India. The Honour Courses, as you are aware, divide themselves into the same Branches as the ordinary courses, and there too, the great difficulty is in respect to Languages. Indeed the Rules as to Examinations for Honours in this Branch as at present framed, seem quite to deter candidates ; for they require them, immediately after taking the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, to present themselves for examination in two such different and difficult Literatures as English and (for instance) Sanskrit ; the difficulty as to the latter being greatly augmented by the fact that its study is virtually excluded from the lower courses. Here then some remedial measure seems to be required. What that measure should be, whether Candidates for Honours should have an additional year in which to prepare for the higher ordeal, or what other arrangement should be made, is a question which must be left, and may most properly be left, to the wisdom of the Senate to decide. As regards the Professional Courses, I must not even allude to those which are purely technical ; but may say a few words as to the preliminary qualification in Liberal Arts which should be

required of those who desire to enter on a professional course. The Liberal professions of course are those which look to no mere sordid ends and for the due practice of which therefore, persons are required not merely dexterous or acute, but of enlarged and cultivated minds. Indeed it is a mere truism to say that one who is ill-prepared to enter on the serious duties of manhood cannot be well prepared for a high professional career. What are the requirements now made in this respect? You are aware that they are not great, and that they are not uniform in the different Faculties. For instance in Medicine, a Licentiate will often have passed only the Entrance Examination in Arts; in Engineering, a Licentiate will often have passed only the First Examination in Arts, and as Licentiates have not generally graduated in Arts it has been ruled that they shall not appear in this place to receive their certificates publicly like regular graduates. At the same time, both in Medicine and Engineering, the professional tests imposed on Licentiates certainly correspond with those which would be held to qualify for the Professional Degree of Bachelor; and in neither of those Faculties therefore is there provision for a separate Examination for a Bachelor's Degree. The consequence is that at present even if a Bachelor of Arts, or a Master of Arts should desire to enter

the profession of Medicine or Engineering, there is no means by which he can obtain in either Faculty any Degree which will entitle him to appear in this place to receive a Diploma side by side with Bachelors of Law for instance—until, in Medicine, he shall have advanced to the Degree of Doctor ; or, in Engineering to the co-ordinate Degree of Master. This is a state of things which can hardly have been intended, and which no one, I believe, desires to perpetuate. With the aid of the different Faculties, the Senate, I trust, will be able to devise measures for the removal of the apparent anomaly ; while they also do all that can reasonably be done to secure in candidates for professional training as high a standard as possible of preliminary education.

Passing to the judicial function by which the University applies its tests in Examination, can it still be confidently said as was said some years ago, that nothing is here done unduly to invite candidates ? If the question be merely whether tests have been allowed to decline, since 1858 for instance, there can, I imagine, be no difficulty in at once answering in the negative. If we wish to go further, to enquire more curiously whether tests, as applied here, guarantee equally with those of the older Universities of Europe, that the foundations of knowledge have been deeply and safely laid,



that fair mental powers have been faithfully disciplined, the conditions of the comparison become so varied that it must be difficult to judge with confidence. Even in this place and I suppose in most places—there is difficulty in comparing accurately the results of successive Examinations. We must all wish to speak with respect and indeed with gratitude of the services of those gentlemen who have laboured on our behalf as Examiners. But I am sure they will agree with me, that an arrangement which should ensure the transmission of a clear current of traditions from year to year, which should ensure that Tests are applied not only fairly and fully on each separate occasion, but with all possible firmness, evenness, and steadiness from year to year, would be one of the greatest boons which could now be conferred on the University, and would do more than almost anything else permanently to secure the reputation of its Degrees wherever such Distinctions are valued. Can any steps be taken towards the institution of such an arrangement? Would it be wise to introduce a permanent element into the Examining Body? Would it be justifiable to recommend any considerable outlay for this purpose? These are questions which seem to require serious attention. For it is in the execution of this office of Examination that the University is the judge

of intellectual merit, and the dispenser of intellectual Honours throughout the country.

As regards the encouragement of higher education generally, you recommended during the year that ~~some~~ studentships should be founded for the purpose of inducing a few at least to persevere in the higher and more invigorating course of study that prepares for Honours in Arts. And certainly there are here many antagonist forces drawing young men away from what have been well called "the serene attractions of the intellectual Life." New careers are opening on every side, the desire to rise in the world is spreading largely, and there is danger that the value of knowledge for its own sake, and as giving dignity to human life, should be overlooked. It is the more needful therefore that some should be persuaded to press forward to those higher levels of science and scholarship where most can be done to enliven, to expand, and to mature the powers. But if this is to be effected, if the good example of those who have this year attained the higher Degrees is to be largely followed, further facilities must be afforded. May we not hope that some of those who have the means will be induced to found Common Halls in which meritorious graduates may be enabled to pursue their studies in a manner and under a discipline befitting a grave place of learning? Wealthy

persons in this country might perpetuate their names, in connection with such foundations, as pious persons have done in Europe. And it would be a truly good work thus to put it in the power of poor and deserving men to give more time to literary pursuits apart from the distractions of families, and the temptations and discomfort of a casual sojourn in this crowded city. But although it would be a great thing if those who are rich in this world's wealth would freely give of their abundance for such a purpose, it would be a greater thing if they would freely give their influence and their example. Five and twenty years ago, Sir C. Trevelyan said most truly that, while the true education of one great landholder would be a benefit to the whole neighbourhood, any effort which should issue in the education of landed proprietors as a class would be a national blessing of the first magnitude. Much is now being done to call out the energies of native gentlemen by opening up—even to the highest—clear paths to usefulness and honour. But the desired effects will not be fully produced—as His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor lately took occasion to urge—until it shall be recognised as a discreditable thing, as a just ground of reproach to any young man of fortune, and to his friends, that he has been left to grow up without the liberal education of a gentleman. There

was a time when India exercised a predominating influence over the minds of men in Asia. We cannot doubt that her influence will yet be greater than it ever was. But this time it must be the influence of a country that is truly civilized; civilized as only modern nations have been. The standard of knowledge, the standard of character will rise throughout the country; and then no class that is deficient in intelligence will long retain superior influence. It will be a fortunate thing at that time if those who are first in wealth and dignity shall also be among the first in enlightenment; if the names of those who are to inherit great estates among you, shall generally be included in the Lists of the higher Graduates of this University.

Meanwhile it especially behoves you, who have already graduated, for whom so much has been done, to see what you can do for others. Great facilities have been afforded for your education. A fine field is open to you for advancement in life. You will have many opportunities of doing good. But there is one duty of which you will allow me to remind you, because you owe it to the University itself. You are better able than others at present to justify to your own countrymen that kind of training which it is the office of the University to promote. Even in older countries, there are many who press for more practical instruction, more useful

knowledge, more means of earning a livelihood at once. In this country, the number of such persons is much greater. It will be for you to maintain that higher view of the place of University teaching in a national scheme which you alone perhaps as yet can fully appreciate. You can all appreciate that, whatever be the degree to which you have advanced, by your knowledge of English Literature, you have all been admitted to a storehouse of noble thoughts and feelings, on the great value of which I will not dwell, for it has been described by one of our Masters of eloquence—himself a great benefactor to this country—in words which, I hope are familiar to most of you. But a greater benefit even than this you have received, in those habits of clear thinking, of patient and accurate study, of honest judgment which it is the special virtue of a liberal training to form. We have all in our day felt it irksome to be delayed over mere verbal niceties—as we are apt to call them—until we came to recognise in language not merely the medium of communication among men, but the instrument and the very form of thought. We have all been apt to complain that tasks were being proposed to us which offered no prospect of use; until we came to feel that they had indeed a wide and liberal use; that the very fact of their present use being concealed, strengthened in us that habit of conscientious effort, of

concentration of the mind on the matter in hand, which is in itself the highest gain. It has been said of those who are thus disciplined that their intellects are fortified by working under severe conditions like the heavier armour of the Campus Martius. If you have so worked, if you have so been strengthened, you will be zealous to justify to those who are less favoured, the generous and invigorating exercises.

Few of you, I fear will be able to continue much longer your course of liberal study. Some I hope may follow the good example that has been set you and press on for the higher Degree in Arts ; but most of you, who have not already done so, will not turn aside to one of the professions. There too, you will have a noble field of usefulness. You will advance along different lines, but still with a common end and object. All professional men indeed, in all countries, are but as different Battalions of one great army which everywhere throughout the civilized world is making war against unfruitfulness in nature, against obstructions to intercourse among men, against disease and crime and all that deforms human life. But here, too, there is a word of friendly caution which you will allow me to speak. Many of you have proved that you possess high attainments ; your known merits are great ; but you will not suffer yourselves to believe that what has here been done for you, or

can here be done for you, is sufficient to place you at once on an equality with the scholars and professional men of Europe. Your own good sense will tell you that this is not and cannot be so. The labours of those who have there given their lives for social progress, the long results of a great civilization, centuries of matured University-training have won for those old communities many precious privileges in which their members share. You have not here the same advantages. Do not shrink from owning the difficulties that lie before you, while you strenuously labour to remove them; those especially that most depress social energy among you. As the inner walls of social partition disappear, as the outer wall of national separation disappears, which for centuries have done so much to arrest the progress of Society in India, your countrymen will be able, you will be able, to mix freely among yourselves and freely with other people, in all the pursuits of life, in every forward movement of the world.

If any of you listened to what was said two years ago from this place by Lord Canning, his parting words may have cleaved to your memories as they have done to mine. He reminded you that as yet you had but breasted the first hill in life, and reached the tableland on which your real course is to be run—and he added that as you had hitherto been seekers of intellectual

Truth, you should go on to seek the Truth in all things. I trust these sayings will sink deeply into the heart of every one of you. Seek to know that which is true, that you may follow after that which is good—that you may prove to those who doubt it still, that the natural fruit of a higher training is a purer and a better life. And now, in the name of my colleagues in the Senate, as well as in my own name, I wish you very heartily God speed.



*The 11th March, 1864.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Henry Sumner Maine,

*Vice-Chancellor.*

GENTLEMEN,

Those Members of the Senate who have been connected with our University since its foundation, will not be surprised if, in what I have to say to you, I depart in some degree from the addresses of former Vice-Chancellors. I have obtained from the Registrar copies of those addresses, so far as they have been reported, and I see that they are principally devoted to explaining to the Native Students, and through them to the Natives of India generally, what is the nature of a University, and to impressing on them the value of the distinctions it confers. It is not, I think, necessary to dwell any longer on those topics; indeed I am not sure that more harm than good would not be done by my dwelling on them. There is now more evidence than enough that our University has taken root. I have seen it stated that the increase in the numbers of the older English Universities is about 6 per cent.; but the increase of the University of Calcutta is no longer expressed by taking a percentage; it is not even expressed by saying that our numbers have doubled or trebled.

The number of entrances has positively sextupled since the foundation of the University six years ago, which is a rate of growth never seen out of the tropics. Gentlemen, it is easy to be wise after the event; but I think I could have predicted this. Knowing as I do how deeply the taste for University distinctions penetrates even in England, although there it has to compete with the almost infinitely varied and multiplied forms which English enterprise assumes, I think I could have foreseen that a society like the native society of Bengal—a society whose faults no less than its excellencies lie on the side of mental acuteness, and which from its composition and circumstances has comparatively few facilities for the exercise of activity—I could have foreseen that such a society could be stirred to its inmost depths by an institution which conferred visible and tangible rewards on the early and sometimes, it is to be feared, the precocious display of intellectual ability. What now remains to be done is not so much to stimulate the ambition which seeks to gratify itself by a University degree or honour, as to make provision that those honours and degrees are really the symbols and the witnesses of solid acquirements. My predecessors have, I see, striven to bring out the points of similarity between this University and the Universities of England. We should merely be imitating their

external and temporary characteristics if we omitted to follow them in that one characteristic which has redeemed all their shortcomings—the thoroughness of their tests and the conscientiousness of their teaching. It would be vain to deny—and I am sure that I do not care to deny—that Oxford and Cambridge have in time past been guilty of many faults both of omission and of commission. They have failed to teach much which they ought to have taught, and taught much which they ought not to have taught; but whatever they did teach, they have taught with a stern and severe completeness. Their weak side has been intolerance of new ‘subjects of thought; their strong side has been their intolerance of superficiality. It is this direction, I am sure, which all our future efforts—the efforts both of the University and of all the Colleges affiliated to it—ought to follow; and this direction has, I am happy to say, been in fact followed in those alterations of our course to which the Senate has recently given its sanction—alterations of which the principal credit belongs, as I am sure all associated with him will allow, to my immediate predecessor Mr. Erskine. One great step forwards has been made in the substitution—of course the partial and gradual substitution—of classical languages for vernacular or spoken languages, as subjects of examination. I will not trouble

you with all the grounds on which this reform is justified. If you wish to understand them thoroughly, I commend you to the published writings of the accomplished scholar—whom I am proud to call my friend—who is Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay. But all here present must, I think, see that, independently of the difficulty of examining in languages many of which have no true literature, which have only a factitious literature, a literature of translations—you must see what a premium is placed upon flimsiness in knowledge when a young man is examined in a spoken dialect, which is picked up, half unconsciously, in conversation and by the ear, against another young man who is examined in one of those classical languages which, before they are mastered, bring out the strongest powers of the memory and the reason. There is really nothing in common between the linguistic attainments of a student who passes or obtains honours in Greek, or Sanskrit, or Arabic; and those of one who passes in Burmese or Uriya, or—for this is, to a certain extent, true of those languages—even in Bengali or Hindustani. I have spoken of superficiality as our great danger. But do not suppose that I am insinuating anything with respect to the actual performances of the students. The Registrar has furnished me with some samples of the papers which contain the answers. My impression,

which coincides, I believe, with that of the examiners, is that, in those subjects in which high proficiency may reasonably be expected, the evidence of industry, quickness and clearness of head, is not very materially smaller than the proof of similar qualities furnished by a set of English Examination papers. Superficiality will to some extent form part of the results of every Examination, but I cannot conscientiously say that I have seen much more of it here than in the papers of older Universities. And now, as I am on this topic, I will observe that there is one characteristic of these papers, which has struck me very forcibly. It is the extraordinary ambition of the Native Student to write the best—perhaps I should rather say the finest—English. In some cases the attempt has been singularly successful; in others it has failed, and I think I may do some good to the Native Students present if I say why I consider it has failed. It has failed, then, because the attempt has been too consciously and deliberately made. Of course I do not forget that these Students are writing in a foreign tongue, and that their performances are justly compared only with those Latin themes which some of the gentlemen around me have written in their youth. But on the other hand, the English of a Bengali lad is acquired for permanent and practical purposes, to be written and spoken to, and among those

who have written and spoken it from their infancy. Under such circumstances, English can only be well written by following the golden rule which Englishmen themselves follow or ought to follow, and, that rule is never to try deliberately to write it well. Depend upon it, no man ever wrote well by striving too hard to write well. What you should regard, is not the language but the thought, and if the thought be clearly and vividly conceived, the proper diction, if the writer be an educated man, will be sure to follow. You have only to look to the greatest Masters of English style to satisfy yourselves of the truth of what I have said. Take the first illustration which always suggests itself to an Englishman, and look at any one page of Shakespeare. After you have penetrated beneath the poetry and beneath the wit, you will find that the page is perfectly loaded with thought ; and so, you may depend upon it, it will always be at all times and with all writers. The more you read, the more convinced will you be that the finest fancies are formed, as diamonds are said to be formed, under the pressure of enormous masses of thought. The opposite process, that of trying to bring in at all hazards some favourite phrase or trick of language, will only lead you to a spurious and artificial result. I have said so much as this, because what I have read and heard leaves me no doubt that the accomplishment

of writing good \*English is something which lies very near to the heart of the Native Students.

*I have now to address myself to matters which are of equal interest to all of us—to the events which have marked the history of the University during the year. The most conspicuous of these events is the calamity which deprived us of our Chancellor, as it did India of its Viceroy. Gentlemen, I am very sensible that, in speaking to the Members of the University of Lord Elgin, I must use the same language which all who were associated with him are obliged to use of his government of India—that he died too soon for much visible proof to be given of the good intentions of which his heart was full. What I have to say of him with more particular relation to the University, I will postpone for a moment or two, and I pass to another incident of the year's history, of which I could almost be contented to say that no heavier blow has fallen on the University since its foundation—I mean the final departure from India of our colleague, Dr. Duff. It would be easy for me to enumerate the direct services which he rendered to us by aiding us, with unflagging assiduity, in the regulation, supervision, and amendment of our course of study; but, in the presence of so many Native Students and Native Gentlemen who viewed him with the*

intensest regard and admiration, although they knew that his every-day wish and prayer was to overthrow their ancient faith, I should be ashamed to speak of him in any other character than the only one which he cared to fill—the character of a Missionary. Regarding him, then, as a Missionary, the qualities in him which most impressed me—and you will remember that I speak of nothing except what I myself observed—were first of all his absolute self-sacrifice and self-denial. Religions, so far as I know, have never been widely propagated, except by two classes of men—by conquerors or by ascetics. The British Government of India has voluntarily (and no doubt wisely) abnegated the power which its material force conferred on it, and, if the country be ever converted to the religion of the dominant race, it will be by influences of the other sort, by the influence of Missionaries of the type of Dr. Duff. Next I was struck—and here we have the point of contact between Dr. Duff's religious and educational life—by his perfect faith in the harmony of truth. I am not aware that he ever desired the University to refuse instruction in any subject of knowledge, because he considered it dangerous. Where men of feeblar minds or weaker faith would have shrunk from encouraging the study of this or that classical language, because it enshrined the archives of some antique superstition, or



would have refused to stimulate proficiency in this or that walk of physical science, because its conclusions were supposed to lead to irreligious consequences, Dr. Duff, believing his own creed to be true, believed also that it had the great characteristic of truth—that characteristic which nothing else except truth possesses—that it can be reconciled with every thing else which is also true. Gentlemen, if you only realize how rare this combination of qualities is—how seldom the energy which springs from religious conviction is found united with perfect fearlessness in encouraging the spread of knowledge, you will understand what we have lost through Dr. Duff's departure, and why I place it among the foremost events in the University year. The next incident I have to advert to, in relation to the University of Calcutta, is not a fact, but the contrary of a fact. Most of you have heard of the munificent donations which have been made to the University of Bombay by the native community of that Presidency. I am sorry to have to state that there is nothing of the kind to record of Calcutta. I do not mean to say anything harsh when I declare that our position, in regard to the natives of Bengal, is one of perpetually giving and never taking—of always conferring and never receiving. We have sextupled our students, but it is humiliating to have to state that the only assistance

accruing to the higher education in Bengal from any quarter, except the Government, has consisted in the right to share in a fund for the encouragement of legal studies, created by a Bombay gentleman. Of course, gentlemen, I cannot pretend to be ignorant of the cause of this. It comes from the bad habit of looking to the Government as the sole natural author of every public benefit ; and, permit me to say, that the European portion of society appear to me a little under the influence of the same error which seems to stint the liberality of the natives. Some people appear to think that the University will never have attained a footing of respectability, until we are lodged in the building which has been promised to us. I shall be glad when we get that building, and I hope we shall get it ; but except for its mere material convenience, I shall attach the very smallest importance to it. It is not public money, or the results of public money, that we should care to obtain. Depend upon it, the vitality of a University is proved not by the amounts which, by begging or bullying, it can extract from the guardians of the public purse ; it is proved by those benefactions which are the natural payment of society for the immense benefits which it receives through the spread of education. Look to our two great English University towns. They are absolutely constructed of the monuments of private

liberality ; even the kings and queens who built some of their most magnificent structures, built them from their private resources, and not, as an Indian Ruler must always do, out of the taxes, paid to a great extent as taxes always must be by the poorest of the poor. Yet, gentlemen, I think that if ever there was a country in which we might expect the wealthier classes to have the ambition of perpetuating their names by University endowments, it is India. There seems to me to be no country—I speak, of course, of native gentlemen—in which men look so far forward or so far backward—in which men so deliberately sacrifice their lives to the consideration of what their ancestors have done before them, and of what their descendants will do after them. Now, gentlemen, I may surprise some of you by saying this ; but it is my fixed opinion, that there is no surer, no easier, and no cheaper road to immortality, such as can be obtained in this world, than that which lies through liberality expending itself in the foundation of educational endowments. I turn again to the older English Universities—which I mention so often because I know them best. If you could transport yourselves to Oxford or Cambridge, you would hear ringing in your ears the names of hundreds of men whose memories would have perished centuries ago if they had not linked them to the Universities by their

benefactions. I will give you an example. After you pass out of the gate of my own College at Cambridge, you have before you one of the most famous, one of the most beautiful, one of the most useful of University foundations. It is called Caius College, and it is the chief school of medicine in the University. Who was Caius, the founder? I will not say that he was an entirely obscure man—that would be unjust to his memory—but he was a man, a successful physician, who would have been thoroughly well forgotten, if he had not so bestowed a part of his wealth that his name is daily in the mouth of hundreds, it may be thousands, of the educated youth of England. That is only one instance. Oxford and Cambridge, however, are full of them; colleges, scholarships, exhibitions, prizes, each of them is associated with some name, which but for the association, would have fallen into oblivion long since, but which, as it is, is stamped upon the memory of multitudes just at the period of life when the impressions received are practically ineffaceable. It may almost be said that a founder of University endowments obtains for himself a new family. I have been told that there are in India certain companies of Hindu ascetics—some of them largely endowed—where the descent and the title to the property are traced, not from father to son, but from disciple to disciple. The records

of an English College exhibit just this sort of genealogical tree. The Collegiate society forms a perpetually renewed family, and no family was ever prouder of its ancestors. Indeed, it sometimes happens that men of no mean birth almost prefer this pedigree to their own. I will mention one of them—the late Viceroy of India. Lord Elgin was, as you know, the descendant of the most famous king in the line of Scottish Kings, and yet I doubt whether he was prouder of this great ancestry or prouder of any of his successes in Government or policy, than of the honour which he obtained in his youth when he was elected a Fellow of Merton College at Oxford. Gentlemen, I have now a very few words more to say, and these shall be addressed to those for whom this Meeting<sup>\*</sup> is principally intended—the native students who have just taken their degrees. As I stated when I began, I do not think that the taste of the native youth of Bengal for intellectual knowledge requires to be much stimulated; there are too many motives at work to encourage it; still there is one motive which I will dwell upon for a moment, because, if it were properly appreciated, it would at once be the strongest and the most legitimate inducement to exertion. Probably, if we could search into the hearts of the more refined portions of the native community, we should find that their highest aspiration

was to be placed on a footing of real and genuine equality with their European fellow-citizens. Some persons have told them that they are equal already, equal in fact as they undoubtedly are before the law. Most of you have heard of one remarkable effort which was made to establish this position. A gentleman, who was then a member of the Government of India, Mr. Laing, went down to the Dalhousie Institute, and, in a Lecture delivered there, endeavoured to popularize those wonderful discoveries in philological science which have gone far to lift the hypothesis of the common parentage of the most famous branches of the human family to the level of a scientific demonstration. I do not know that anybody was ever more to be admired than Mr. Laing for that act of courage, for I know how obstinate were those prejudices which he sought to overthrow, and to what a height they had risen at the moment when he spoke. The effect produced by his lecture on the Aryan race must have been prodigious, for I am sure I scarcely see a single native book or newspaper which does not contain some allusion to Mr. Laing's argument. Yet, gentlemen, although what Mr. Laing then taught, is truth, nothing can be more certain than that it is barren truth. Depend upon it, very little is practically gained by the native when it is proved, beyond contradiction, that he is of the same race with the

Englishman. Depend upon it, the true equality of mankind lies, not in the past, but in the future. It may come—probably will come—but it has not come already. There are some, who, like our late colleague, Dr. Duff, believe that the time will arrive, when all men in India will be equal under the shadow of the same religious faith. There are some—more perhaps in number—who look forward to a moral equality, who hope and expect that there will be a period when everybody in India will subscribe to the same moral creed, and entertain the same ideas as to honour, as to veracity, as to the obligation of promises, as to mercy and justice, as to that duty of tenderness to the weak which is incumbent on the strong. But those epochs are still distant, one probably much more distant than the other. Meantime the equality which results from intellectual cultivation is always and at once possible. Be sure, gentlemen, that it is a real equality. No man ever yet genuinely despised, however he might hate, his intellectual equal. In Europe, the only community, which, so far as I see, is absolutely undivided by barriers of race, of nationality, of prejudice, of birth and wealth, is the community of men of letters and of science. The citizens of that Republic have before now corresponded with each other and retained their friendships, while the deadliest wars were separating their

fellow-country-men. I have heard that they are even now corresponding in the midst of the bloody conflict which desolates America. The same influences which can overpower the fierce hatreds bred by civil war can assuredly beat down the milder prejudices of race and colour, and it is as fountains of such influences that I believe the Universities will count for something, if they do count for anything, in the history of British India.



*The 11th March, 1865.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Henry Sumner Maine,  
*Vice-Chancellor.*

GENTLEMEN,

Until quite recently, I was under the impression that there would be no event in the history of the academical year just closed, which would require notice to-day from the Vice-Chancellor, according to our custom. But within the last few weeks, an event has happened of some importance to us. Many of you are familiar with the names of some of those native gentlemen in Bombay, whose wealth, fabulous in amount, has been accumulated with a rapidity hitherto only seen in Eastern storytelling and if you are familiar with those names, I am sure you know that almost every one of them is associated with some act of magnificent generosity. At the head of those names there stands—I hope it is not necessary to say, there stood—both as regards the amount of his wealth, the speed of its growth, and the splendour of the gifts drawn from it, the name of Mr. Premchand Roychand. I am not able to say whether the reports which have reached Calcutta to-day of that gentleman's untimely death are true or not; but it is only right that I should

mention that Mr. Premchand Roychand lately offered to the University of Calcutta two lacs of Rupees, to be expended for the benefit of education, in such way as might seem fittest to the Chancellor and Senate of the University. In the uncertainty we are in of that gentleman's fate, it is obviously not proper that we should dwell on his munificence. But indeed, it is not probable that I should have dwelt much upon it under any circumstances—and for two reasons. First, that it was one of those things which would be spoilt by being enlarged upon; and secondly, because I was afraid that, if I dwelt long on his munificence, a point would be given to my words which was not intended. I am aware of the construction which has been placed on the language I employed last year, as to the different ways in which the riches of the Native gentlemen of Bombay and of Bengal are expended. But it was never distantly in my mind to insinuate that the whole of the great incomes of the rich zemindars and merchants of Bengal is spent on purely selfish enjoyment. I am aware of the fact, which many Native gentlemen have impressed upon me since, that the opulent Natives of Bengal have a heavy burden on them in the support of their families—not merely in the European sense—but reaching down to distant generations and remote collateral branches. I know that. But I was

pressing upon them the truth, which I am sure that their descendants will accept, if they do not receive it themselves. I was putting in a plea for another form of the family—for that intellectual posterity which every man may obtain for himself—for descendants in whose hands every bequest increases usuriqusly, and who offer up to their ancestors a daily oblation of new knowledge and new truth.

Gentlemen, apart from Mr. Premchand Roychand's gift, there is nothing special that I can introduce to your notice to-day; and it only remains for me to follow former Vice-Chancellors, in impressing on the students who have just taken their degrees, the value of the training through which they have passed. But there is this difficulty. Much that has been said by my predecessors was, I have no doubt, new in their mouths, and even startling to the native part of their audience. But the intellectual development of Bengal has been so rapid, that many of those positions have passed here into the stage which they occupy in Europe, and have grown into mere common-place. Now, the danger of dwelling on common-places is this—that it tempts men of acute minds—and there are no acuter minds than those of the educated Bengalis—to question and deny them—and thus it helps to put out of sight the important fact, that nothing becomes common-place

which does not contain so large a proportion of truth as to make it commend itself at once to the perceptions of the great mass of mankind. I could hardly do a greater evil in a short time than by tempting my native audience to doubt the advantages of education, simply because their reiteration has become tedious. It is not, then, because I doubt these general advantages any more than other Vice-Chancellors, than Mr Ritchie, or Sir James Colvile, or Lord Canning, but because no one here doubts them, that I put them aside to-day. What I wish to do now is, simply to say a few words to each class of the graduates who have just taken their degrees, as to the separate and special training which they have passed through.

Naturally, the first class to which I should wish to address myself would be the graduates of Law—those who are about to join my own profession. Most of you are aware that the number of those gentlemen who have just taken their degrees of law—considerable as it is—does not distantly represent the number of those who are destined, in one way or another, to follow the profession of law. Probably a large majority of the graduates in Arts—of those who have just taken their degrees, and even of those who are studying in the Colleges—will become lawyers in some time, either as members of the Judicial service, or as pleaders, or as persons

attached to the establishments of the various law courts. Now, I know that there are many among my own countrymen who think that these crowds of natives flocking to the law are a morbid and unhealthy symptom. And I, of course, admit that it is not a model society in which there is permanently a superfluity of lawyers. But, whether we like or dislike the symptom, there is no doubt of its being healthy and natural. There are many around me who are familiar with the accounts received of the multitudes who crowded the Bar in the early times of the Roman Republic—accounts, which would not be credible if the same state of things had not shown itself in modern Europe, after the revival of letters. I doubt not that the phenomenon which now shows itself in Bengal at this moment, is to be explained in the same way. Experience proves that the first result of intellectual cultivation in any community is always to divert an extraordinarily large part of its youth to the Bar. The reason of it is not hard to find. For the pursuit of the law is one of the very few walks of life which offer attractions both to practical and to speculative tastes. It gratifies the passion of all young educated minds for generalization, but the materials for generalization—the materials which they fit into general rules—are the business and the concerns of every day life. The practice of

the law combines the attractions of the closet and of the market-place—it is money-making and study at the same time. I can therefore, understand the multitude of young educated Bengalis who give themselves to the law. And the aptitude of the young native for the pursuit of law is now placed beyond question although of course, there has not been quite time to reach the highest level of legal accomplishment. A gentleman who may be supposed to speak with more authority than any one in India on this subject, Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice of Bengal, informed me once that an average legal argument by native vakils in the Appellate High Court was quite up to the mark of an average legal argument in Westminster Hall—and that is very high praise indeed. On the other hand, complaints do reach me—these complaints are of course more addressed to the native Bar of the Mofussil than to the native Bar of the Presidency towns—of a tendency to prefer subtlety to breadth, and of an over-love for technicality. Now, I should like to say a few words about this fault of over-technicality and over-subtlety, which I know, of course, to be the fault attributed to all lawyers by laymen. Perhaps I shall surprise some of you if I say that, if I were asked to give a definition of law to persons quite ignorant of it.—I mean, of course, a rough and a popular, not a scientific

definition or description—I should say that law is common sense. Of course, that is only true with very considerable reservations and abatements. It is not absolutely true even in England, where law has been cultivated for centuries by the flower of the national intellect—an intellect wedded, above all things, to common sense. And again, whatever the result of the admirable Codes we are introducing, it is far from being true here. But still, with all reservations and all abatements, the proposition that law is common sense is much truer than any one looking at the subject from outside can possibly conceive. But what conceals this from laymen is the fact that law, being not simply a science to be learned, but an art to be applied, has, like all arts, to be thrown into technical forms. Technicalities are absolutely indispensable to lawyers, just as the ideas of form, and proportion, and colour have to be thrown into a technical shape before they can give birth to painting or sculpture. A lawyer cannot do without technical rules, any more than a sculptor or a painter; but still, it is universally true that a disposition to over-rate technicalities, or to value them for their own sake, is the characteristic mark of the journeyman, as distinguished from the artist. A very technical lawyer will always be a third-rate lawyer. Now then, the remedy which I would apply to this alleged infirmity of the native legal mind is

simply this—always prefer the substance to the accident. If you are tempted to value a particular legal conclusion for its subtlety or—what sometimes comes to the same thing—its oddity or perversity, rather than its reasonableness, you may always safely suspect yourself. Technical rules will sometimes lead to perverse results, for technicalities framed in one generation occasionally fail to give the results expected from them in another, and, of course, technicalities reasonable in one quarter of the world sometimes do not serve their purpose in another. But still, after all, the grand criterion of legal soundness is common sense, and if you are inclined to employ an argument, or to draw an inference, or to give an opinion which does not satisfy the test—which is out of harmony with experience and with the practical facts of life—I do not say, reject it absolutely, but strongly suspect it, and be sure that the presumption is heavily against it.

I can speak to the next class of graduates—the medical graduates with much less confidence. I suppose all of us feel that medicine is a subject in which our interest is out of all proportion to our knowledge. Yet there is one complaint, which I think that a younger generation of medical men are likely to hear more frequently and more impatiently made than did their predecessors. A friend of mine once, in this very room, though to a very different audience, said



he had no belief in medicine, that it was an art which made no progress. Now, I know that medical men, conscious as they are of daily additions to their knowledge, are apt to regard such complaints as the fruit of presumptuous ignorance; but it may be worth while to examine the particle of truth which makes such a view of this art possible to highly intelligent men, looking at it from outside. I believe that the eminent members of the medical profession who are now round about me, will agree with me that medicine is a general term, embracing a vast group of arts and sciences, all subordinate to one master art, the art of healing. All these contributory arts and sciences—Physiology, Pathology, Toxicology, Chemistry—are advancing at a vast rate, even with a speed beyond the march of other sciences; because, to the influences which stimulate the progress of other sciences is added, in their case, the poignant spur of professional ambition and interest; and whenever all these arts and sciences are completed, medicine will be most perfect and complete of all the arts. But, by the very necessities of their profession, medical men are compelled to act as if an art was complete which is only completing itself. We are constituted of too frail a structure to be able to wait for the long result of time, and our infirmities place medical men at a disadvantage, as compared with other men of science, by

forcing them to anticipate a consummation which may be near, but has not yet been reached. The scepticism, then, to which I have referred is the result of a misunderstanding, and is the necessary consequence of the position of the art; it is surely pardonable, for to Europeans, at all events, in India, the common saying, "art is long—life is short," has, sometimes, a terrible significance. Perhaps it would be well if the misunderstanding were cleared up, and language were used on both sides which would reconcile the justifiably unqualified language of medical men as to the progress of their art, with the not unjustifiable impatience of those who are sometimes tempted to think that it does not move at all.

Gentlemen, there remains one class, the largest of all, the graduates in arts. Since their education is only introductory to pursuits and walks of life to be followed afterwards, I can only speak to them in general language, and therefore with but slight effect. But there are some peculiarities in the course which they have gone through, which make a considerable impression on a person like myself, who am pretty well acquainted with the analogous course of the English Universities. The peculiarity of the course of the University of Calcutta which strikes me is this—the nearer equality on which the Calcutta course, as compared with that of Oxford or Cambridge, places the subjects of study, which

are there classed as the new and the old. Nominally, our course is just the same as that of the English University. We examine in Classics, Mathematics, History, Physical Sciences, and (what does not seem to me a correct term) Moral Science. But at Oxford and Cambridge two of these subjects, Classics and Mathematics, are much older than the others, and the new branches of study have a hard fight to maintain their credit and popularity against the prestige of the old. It is found still, I believe, very difficult to get either teachers or pupils to attach the same importance to eminence in the new studies which attaches to distinction in Classics or in Mathematics. Hence it is, that there is no commoner subject of discussion among persons interested in education than the relative priority which should be assigned to those branches of knowledge—which of them ought to take the lead in point of honour, and which is able to furnish the best training for the mind—and I have seen recently from some papers which came from England, in particular from the report of the Public Schools' Commissioners, that the controversy is still going on. I will not state the arguments used in England, which would strike many of you as somewhat conventional and traditional. But still, the question, which of these branches of study is really destined to take precedence over the rest, and to bring the others under its

influence, is a question of interest, and in India even of some importance. Of course, but few Graduates in Arts here, as in England, will follow in after-life the studies of their period of education, nor is it desirable that many should follow them. Some few, however, will do it with advantage, and it is to this minority that I address the remarks I am going to make.

I will take, first, one of the branches of study which enter into our course, History, and I select it, not because it is the one I mean, but because there is probably no one in the room who has not some elementary knowledge of its nature and objects. If the question were put, Why should history be studied? The only answer I suppose, which could be given is, Because it is true: because it is a portion of the truth to which it is the object of all study to attain. It is, however, an undoubted fact that the quality of the truth expected from History has always been changing and cannot be said to be even now settled. Beyond all question, it grew everywhere out of poetry, and long had its characteristics even in the Western world, while in the East, as my Native auditors know, down to comparatively modern times the two forms of truth, the poetical and historical form, were incapable of being disentangled from one another. Keeping however, to the West, which alone has seen the real birth and growth of History, long after

it ceased to be strictly poetical, it continued to be dramatic; and many of the incomparable merits of those historians to whom I see many of the students have been introduced by their recent studies, the great historians of the ancient Western world, as for example, their painting and analysis of character,—are quite as much due in reality to their sense of dramatic propriety as to their love of pure truth. In modern times, too, many other considerations have had priority over truth. During the last century in France which then had unquestionably the intellectual headship of Europe, it was a common opinion that History would be of no value unless it illustrated certain general propositions assumed or believed to be proved *a priori*—which is the meaning of the old and in my judgment extremely false common-place that History is philosophy teaching by example. The tendency in England—the effect of that interest which is the keenest of all interests in Englishmen, their interest in politics, has been to make historians regard history as pre-eminently an instructress in the art of government, and specially as charged with illustrating the principles of that branch of the art of which Englishmen are masters, the art of constitutional Government. Some of this last school of writers have been men of the highest genius and the highest artistic power, and they have at any rate delivered

history from one deadly sin against truth, its dulness. But quite recently—certainly within the lifetime of most persons in this room—a manifest dissatisfaction has shown itself with all these schools of history. It is now affirmed, and was felt long before it was affirmed that the truth of history, if it exists, cannot differ from any other form of truth. If it be truth at all, it must be scientific truth. There can be no essential difference between the truths of the Astronomer, of the Physiologist, and of the Historian. The great principle which underlies all our knowledge of the physical world, that nature is ever consistent with herself, must also be true of human society which is made up of human nature. It is not indeed meant that there are no truths except of the external world, but that all truth, of whatever character, must conform to the same conditions ; so that, if indeed history be true, it must teach that which every other science teaches, continuous sequence, inflexible order, and eternal law.

This brings me to the point to which I was desirous of leading you. Among all our subjects of study, there is no doubt as to which is the one to which belongs the future. The fact is that within the last fifteen or twenty years, there has arisen in the world of thought a new power and a new influence, not the direct but the indirect, influence of the physical sciences—of the sciences

of experiment and observation. The landmarks between the fields of knowledge are being removed; the methods of cultivation are more than suspected to be the same for all. Already the most surprising results have been achieved by applying scientific modes of enquiry to provinces of study once supposed to be furthest removed from science; and if there is any branch of knowledge which refuses to answer to these new attempts to improve it, there is a visible disposition to doubt and question its claims to recognition. The transformation which some studies have undergone under the influence of scientific method may be illustrated by one example of the greatest interest to my Native auditors. I suppose that if there was one of all the studies formerly followed with ardour which had fallen into discredit, it was the study of mere words, the enquiry into the mere skeleton of ancient classical languages. It seemed to be regarded as fitted only for pedants, and for quarrelsome pedants too, and was in some danger of being banished to their closets. Yet, under the influence of the new method, even those dry bones have stirred, and to the analysis of language on strictly scientific principles we are indebted for that marvellous discovery which more than any other has roused and excited the educated Native mind in India, the discovery of an identity of origin between all the great races of the world.

I should detain you longer than could be convenient if I were to try to point out the exact degree in which scientific method has influenced other studies which form part of our course. I need not say that nobody ever doubted the real character of mathematical study. Still in England there is a tendency, which requires correction to exalt pure over mixed mathematics, and I have been told that Native mathematicians in India strongly exhibit a similar preference. This displacement of the true order of study is often defended at home on the ground that a pure mathematical training encourages accurate habits of thought and reasoning. Now, it is perfectly true that mathematical study, more than any other study, produces habits of sustained thought and attention, without which no great intellectual progress of any kind is possible. But the modes of reasoning followed in mathematics happen to be signally unlike those followed in any other walk of life or province of inquiry, and it would be well, I think, if teachers in India kept steadily before their pupils the truth that, except for the mighty aid they lend to physical science, and except for their value in bracing the faculty of attention, exercises in pure mathematics are as profitless an exercise, as writing Latin or Sanskrit verses, without the same beneficial effect on the taste.



In regard to the influence of the new methods on History, the only observation I will make is that their effect has been to change, so to speak, its perspective. Many portions of it which had but small apparent value are exalted into high esteem, just as a stone may be of greater interest to a Geologist than a mountain, a weed than a flower to a Botanist, a fibre than a whole organism to a Physiologist, because they place beyond question a natural law or illustrate it with extraordinary clearness. One unquestionable effect of the tendency to regard history as a science of observation is to add greatly to the value of ancient, as compared with modern History, and not only to that of the wonderfully precise history of Greece and Rome, but to that of the semi-poetical history of ancient India. Ancient history has for scientific purposes the great advantage over modern, that it is incomparably simpler—simpler because younger. The actions of men, their motives and the movements of society are all infinitely less complex than in the modern world, and better fitted, therefore, to serve as materials for a first generalization.

Gentlemen, I know very well that if I were addressing an Oxford or Cambridge audience, if I were to speak of the future as belonging to the sciences of experiment and observation, I should have many objections to answer, some of taste, some of philosophical prejudice, some

perhaps of religious feeling. But it is one advantage derivable from having to compare societies so differently constituted as those of England and India, that difficulties which are formidable when the two societies are viewed apart disappear when they are viewed together. Here in India at all events the conditions of truth are plain enough. In the fight which the educated Hindu, which the Christian Missionary, wages against error, such success as has been gained, such as will be gained, evidently depends on physical knowledge. If the mind of man had been so constituted as to be capable of discovering only moral truths, I should have despaired of its making any permanent conquest of falsehood. Or again—which is much the same thing—if the founders of false systems of religion or philosophy had confined themselves to declaring moral errors only or false propositions concerning the unknown and unseen world, I see no reason for doubting that in most societies, at all events in Oriental Societies, their empire would have been perpetual. For, so far from intellectual growth being in itself certain to destroy error, it constantly supplies it with new weapons. We may teach our students to cultivate language, and we only add strength to sophistry; we teach them to cultivate their imagination, and it only gives grace and colour to delusion; we teach them to cultivate their reasoning

powers, and they find a thousand resources, in allegory, in analogy, and in mysticism, for evading and discrediting truth. Unchecked by external truth, the mind of man has a fatal facility for ensnaring, and entrapping, and entangling itself. But happily, happily for the human race, some fragment of physical speculation has been built into every false system. Here is the weak point. Its inevitable destruction leaves a breach in the whole fabric, and through that breach the armies of truth march in.

But I have still another reason for impressing on you the supremacy which I conceive to be reserved for the physical sciences. I think it impossible to say how much the permanence of the instruction of which this University plants the germs depends on the amount of this knowledge we dispense. Of all knowledge, the knowledge of physical laws is the least destructible and the most enduring. No Englishman will admit that there is any probable limit to the continuance of the supremacy of his race in India. But there is one thing which will certainly outlast English power in the East, and that is Nature and her phenomena. If that catastrophe should ever happen, which now seems remote or impossible—if that pent up flood of barbarism, which the empire of the English race restrains, and only just restrains,

were to sweep down as it has so often done on Bengal, and were to destroy that mere fringe of civilization and education which decorates this province, I think it probable that any tincture of physical science we may impart would die out last. Physical truth, it has been justly said, has no advantage over moral truth but one, it has a tendency to be perpetually re-discovered. But this one advantage is enormous,—so much so that no one natural law ever discovered has been wholly lost sight of—though the fruitfulness of the discovery has sometimes been suspended for ages. All nature witnesses to her own laws and is a witness that never can be silenced. The stars in their courses fight for truth, and if physical knowledge retained any foothold here, I should say that the statement would be true which has so often been made in another sense, and India might always be reconquered from the sea-board of Bengal.

Nobody who shares in that belief which I impressed on a similar audience as the noblest characteristic of that one of the founders of our University who quitted us last year—a belief in the harmony of all truth—will suppose that I have been exalting the truths of physical nature at the expense of moral or any other truths. The very fact which I have been impressing upon you—that the methods of physical science are proving to be applicable to fields of

thought where they once had no place—is itself an indication that all truth will, at some time, be shown to be one and indivisible. But no doubt what I have been saying does carry with it the implication that truth of all sorts does admit of intellectual appreciation—that all asserted knowledge must at all events to some extent ring true, when sounded by the intellect. But who in India will deny this? Nobody, so far as I know, whoever wished or attempted any good for the people of India,—the politician who wished to attach them to English rule, the administrator who laboured to call out the hidden wealth of the country, the missionary who toiled for their conversion, the philanthropists who founded the education which culminates in this University or who, like a predecessor of mine, sought to carry instruction into the recesses of Native families,—none of these ever doubted that the foremost obstacles to success were intellectual errors, and that no instruments blunter than those of the intellect could thrust them aside. A great English writer, who well represents part of the spirit of the English Universities, but that part which has most affinity for oriental habits of thought, in a volume published at the beginning of last year, wrote of the intellect as an all-dissolving, all-corroding power, before which everything good and great and beautiful was gradually melting

and sinking away. The cure for this distortion of view is in India, where everyone of us would rather describe the intellect as all-creating and all-renewing, the only known instrument of all moral and of all religious and of all material improvement. But still if intellectual cultivation is to fill the measure of its advantages to India, there is no doubt it should be constantly progressive. I myself attach very little weight to the cavils at Native education which one sometimes hears in this country—that it does nothing but fosters personal conceit and mental scepticism. I suspect the intelligence, and still oftener the motives of these cavillers. But still it is quite true that conceit and scepticism are the products of an arrested development of knowledge. It is far from impossible that acute minds such as those of the educated Bengalis may come to the point of thinking that everything is known, and that all that is known, is vanity. It is principally because a scientific method of enquiry tends to correct what would be a desolating mistake that I have dwelt on this subject so long. That truth is real and certain, but that truth at the same time is infinite, is the double conviction to which enquiry conducted on scientific principles leads. There can be no manner of question that the progress of knowledge leads to the very frame of mind to which some have thought it fatal—not only to certainty but to

reverence. Whatever be your point of view, you will agree with me that to aim at any consummation short of this could be but a poor result of education by this University.

*The 17th March, 1866.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Henry Sumner Maine,

*Vice-Chancellor.*

GENTLEMEN,

The only event of the past year in which I can expect you to take much interest from a University point of view, is the actual transfer to us of that munificent donation which I announced to you twelve months ago, at a time when there prevailed a rumour (which happily proved an idle rumour) of the donor's death. I attach an importance to that gift beyond its actual money value, as being possibly the first instalment of a series of benefactions on which this University will ultimately have to depend, if ever it becomes a national institution and I had hoped to have been able to describe to you to-day some practical use to which it had been put, or at all events, some practicable proposal for using it. But there is still some doubt as to the tenure on which it is to be held; and until that is cleared up, we cannot tell with what body or authority rests the responsibility of determining the purposes to which the fund is to be devoted. Of course, I can offer nothing more than an opinion, and, perhaps, it would be improper in me even to offer that confidently.



But, speaking generally, I hold to the view which I expressed last year, that, whether the money be spent upon new modes of teaching, as some think it should be, or whether it be spent in stimulating learning by the foundation of prizes and scholarships—that in whatever way it is spent, the study stimulated and encouraged should be the study of the sciences of experiment and observation. I am not going over the ground which was traversed last year, and indeed it is not necessary for me to do so, because the suggestion, that the sphere of physical science in native education should be enlarged, appears to have been generally assented to. I know it has been said—and it is the only stricture which I have seen, and it is of a somewhat vague character—that this proposal to found education in great part upon physical science is too much in harmony with that material, hard and unimaginative view of life which is beginning to be common in modern society. I admit that there is some truth in this in its application to Europe and England. But in contrasting England and India, in comparing the East and the West, we must sometimes bring ourselves to call evil good, and good evil. The fact is, that the educated Native mind requires hardening. That culture of the imagination, that tenderness for it, which may be necessary in the West, is out of place here; for this is a society in which,

for centuries upon centuries, the imagination has run riot, and much of the intellectual weakness and moral evil which afflict it to this moment, may be traced to imagination having so long usurped the place of reason. What the Native mind requires, is sticter criteria of truth; and I look for the happiest moral and intellectual results from an increased devotion to those sciences by which no tests of truth are accepted, except the most rigid.

Gentlemen, the only other event which I have to announce—if I can dignify it with the name of an event—is the advance through another stage of the preparations of our University building. The plans for the building have now received full official sanction, and nothing now will probably delay the construction, except those impediments to rapid work which are common to all undertakings in India, whether they be public or private. I greatly regret the delay, and have from year to year stated in this place that I regretted it. But I think it just to say, that it may be explained by a naturally, and indeed necessarily, imperfect appreciation of the rank which our claim to a building was entitled to hold among the many heavy demands for public works which press upon the the Government of India. I do not suppose that any body ever doubted, that the existence of a University without a local habitation was

an anomaly, or that we were entitled to a Hall for meetings like this. But, unless the thing was seen, it was quite impossible to understand what are the difficulties under which, for want of that building, the University labours in discharging the very simplest functions for which it exists. For myself, I confess that, until I was recently present at the Examinations, I could not have conceived the extraordinary meanness of the arrangements provided for holding them—and I know they were the only arrangements which could possibly have been made. But, gentlemen, what was more startling than the mere insufficiency of the accommodation—more striking than the fact that we had this year to hold our Examinations in the unfinished shell of the Post Office, and the fact that, if next year we cannot have the unfinished shell of the High Court, we shall be driven to tents on the maidan—what was far more impressive than this, was the amazing contrast between the accommodation and the extraordinary importance which these Examinations have acquired. The thing must be seen to be believed. I do not know which was more astonishing, more striking,—the multitude of the students, who, if not now, will soon have to be counted, not by the hundred, but by the thousand; or the keenness and eagerness which they displayed. For my part, I do not think anything of the kind has been seen by any

European University since the Middle Ages—and I doubt whether there is anything founded by, or connected with, the British Government in India which excites so much practical interest in Native households of the better class, from Calcutta to Lahore, as the Examinations of this University. .

Gentlemen, these are facts, and facts which are insufficiently appreciated in this country, and scarcely at all at home. The truth is that we, the British Government in India, the English in India, have for once in a way founded an Institution full of vitality ; and by this University and by the other Universities, by the Colleges subordinate to them, and by the Department of Education, we are creating rapidly a multitudinous class, which in the future will be of the most serious importance for good or for evil. And so far as this University is concerned the success is not the less striking, because it is not exactly the success which was expected. It is perfectly clear, from the language which Lord Canning once employed in this place, in the early days of this University, that the institution, which he expected to come into being, was one which resembled the English Universities more than the University of Calcutta is likely to do for some time to come. Lord Canning's most emphatic words occurred in a passage, in which he said that he hoped the time

was near when the nobility and upper classes of India would think that their children had not had the dues of their rank, unless they passed through the course of the University. Now there is no doubt that that view involved a mistake. The fact is, that the founders of the University of Calcutta thought to create an aristocratic Institution; and, in spite of themselves, they have created a popular Institution. The fact is so; and we must accept it as a fact, whatever we may think of it. But now, after the fact, now that we are wise by experience, it is not difficult to see that hardly anything else could have occurred. Gentlemen, it seems to me utterly idle to expect that, in a virgin field,—in a country new to all real knowledge—in a country in which learning, such as it was, being the close monopoly of a hereditary order, was in exactly the same position as if it did not exist, or existed at the other end of the world—it seems to me idle to expect that the love of learning would begin with the wealthy and the powerful. To suppose this, is to suppose that those who have no acute spur to exertion would voluntarily encounter that which in its first beginnings is the most distasteful of all exercises. Before you can diffuse education, you must create the sense of the value of it; and it is only when the beauty of the results is seen, when their positive and material importance is seen, and they get to be mingled with all

the graces of life, that those who can do without knowledge begin to covet and respect it. There is nothing more certain, than that the English Universities in their origin were extremely popular Institutions. Even if we could not infer the fact from the crowds which flocked to them, from the mere fact of the multitude, it would be perfectly plain from the pictures of University life preserved in the poetry of Chaucer, that the early students of Oxford and Cambridge were children of the people. And, gentlemen, the object of those students was exactly that which is sometimes imputed to our students, as if a censure was intended. It was simply to get on in life; either to enter the Church which was then the only free field in Europe, or, a little later, to get into one of the clerkly professions that were rising up. But it was the example of the educated classes, the visible effects of education on manners and on material prosperity and its growing importance in politics which first attracted the nobility. Their first step was not to educate themselves. The first sign of interest which they showed was in the munificent endowments which they began to pour in upon learned Institutions; and their next step was probably to engage learned men for the education of their children. But it was very slowly, and after much temporary reaction, that that state of things was at last reached, to which Lord

Canning pointed, and under which it is undoubtedly true that the English nobility do put their children through the Universities, unless they have chosen a profession inconsistent with academical training. But nothing could be more erroneous than to suppose, that even now Oxford and Cambridge are purely aristocratic institutions. Their endowments are 'so munificent, and their teaching now-a-days so excellent, that membership in them is profitable, and therefore popular; and although noblemen do unquestionably compete there on equal terms with others, the condition of such competition is the existence of a class prompted by necessity or ambition to keep the prestige of learning before the eye. Lord Canning himself, no doubt, belonged to a class eminently characteristic of the English Universities. He was a nobleman who worked hard at Oxford, when he might have been idle. But the brilliant and illustrious statesman who was Lord Canning's father belonged to a class even more characteristic of them—a class which, by the lustre it receives from learning and again reflects back on it, stimulates men of Lord Canning's order, men some of whose names are not unknown to India,—Lord Ellenborough, Lord Dalhousie, and Lord Elgin,—to follow its laborious example.

Gentlemen, I have admitted that we undoubtedly are creating a class of serious importance

to the future of India, and of course the peculiarities and characteristics of that class are objects of fair criticism. One of the criticisms on this University, not uncommonly heard, that it has failed to conciliate the Native nobility, seems to me to be founded on a false estimate of past history, and therefore a false calculation of probabilities for the future. There are other objections. Some of them I do not purpose to notice, because they are simply vulgar. When, for example, it is said that the Native graduates of this and other Indian Universities are conceited, I wonder whether it is considered how young they are, compared with English graduates, how wide is the difference which their education makes between them and their fellow countrymen, and therefore whether some such result might not to some extent be looked for in any climate or latitude. Certainly, the imputation which is sometimes made, that education saps the morality of the Natives, would be serious if it were true. But, not to speak of its being paradoxical on the face of it, it is against all the evidence that I (or any body else) have been able to collect. At all events, in one department of State, with which I have reason to be acquainted, it is almost a maxim governing promotion, that the better educated is a candidate for judicial employment, the less likely is he to be tainted



with that corruption which was once the disgrace of the Indian Courts.

But the objection which is commonest, and which most intimately concerns us here, is, that the knowledge communicated by the subordinate Colleges and verified by this University is worthless, shallow, and superficial. The course of the University of Calcutta is 'sometimes said to be in fault, and it is alleged, to use a term at once expressive and fashionable, that it encourages "cramming." Now there are some things in our Calcutta course, of which I do not altogether approve. But it was settled after long discussion, shortly after I became Vice-Chancellor, and it would be absurd to be perpetually changing that which of all things ought to be fixed and permanent, on account of small defects which are, after all, disputable. But I wish to say something of the whole class of objections implied in that one word "cramming." If there is anything in them, you know, I suppose, that they have a far wider application than their application to this University. They are constantly urged against the numerous competitive systems which are growing up in England, and in particular against the system under which the Civil Service of India, probably the most powerful official body in the world, is recruited, and will be recruited.

Gentlemen, the discredit which has been successfully attached to certain systems by this word is a good illustration of the power of what a famous writer called dyslogistic expression, or, to put it more simply, of giving a thing a bad name. And here I must say, that the habit Englishmen have of importing into India these commonplace censorious opinions about systems and institutions, is a great misfortune for the Natives. Even in the mouths of the Englishmen who invented them, they generally have very little meaning, for they are based on a mere fragment of truth ; when passed about among the multitude, they have still less ; and, at last, when exported hither, and repeated by the Natives in a foreign tongue, they have simply no meaning at all.

As far as I understand the word, it means nothing more than the rapid communication of knowledge,—communication, that is to say, at a rate unknown till recently. Some people, I know, would add something to the definition ; would say that cramming is the rapid communication of superficial knowledge, but the two statements will generally found to be identical, and that they merely mean by superficial knowledge, knowledge which has been rapidly acquired. The true point, the point which really has to be proved is, whether knowledge rapidly acquired is more easily forgotten than knowledge which has

been slowly gained. The point is one upon which, to some extent, everybody can judge for himself or herself. I am rather surprised, however, at the readiness with which the affirmative has been usually taken for granted ; no doubt, if it be true, it is a curious psychological fact, but surely there are some reasons for questioning the reality. It might plausibly be argued that knowledge slowly acquired, has been acquired at the cost of frequent intervals of inattention and forgetfulness. Now everybody knows that inattention and forgetfulness tend to become habits of the mind, and it might be maintained that these habits would be likely to recur, in association with a subject of thought, even when that subject has for once been successfully mastered. On the other hand, it might be contended that knowledge rapidly acquired has been necessarily acquired under a certain strain and tension of the mental faculties, and that the effects of this tension are not likely to be so readily lost and dissipated.

The simple truth is, that under the strong stimulus applied by that system of examinations by which the entrance to almost every English profession is now barred, there has sprung up an active demand for knowledge of a more varied description than was once coveted, and above all, for knowledge rapidly imbibed and mastered. To meet this demand, a class of teachers has sprung

up who certainly produce remarkable results with remarkable rapidity. I hear it said, that they are men of a far lower order of mind and accomplishment than the teachers who follow the old methods. I can well believe it; but that only renders the probability greater that some new power has been brought into play. I am afraid it must be allowed, that no art, of equal importance to mankind, has been so little investigated scientifically as the art of teaching. No art is in the hands of practitioners who are so apt to follow so blindly in the old paths. I say this with the full recollection that there has been great improvement in England lately, and that the books of teaching, most in use, have been purged of many gross errors both of statement and of method. But one line of enquiry there is which has never been sufficiently followed, though one would have thought it antecedently the most promising of all,—the study of the human mind through actual observation, and the study of the expedients by which its capacity for receiving and retaining knowledge may be enlarged. That field of investigation has been almost wholly neglected, and therefore it may just be that we are on the eve of great discoveries in education, and that the processes of these teachers are only a rough anticipation of the future. The fact that the methods of teaching followed in England are almost wholly empirical, that for the most

part they entirely neglect individual differences of character and temperament, that they certainly work counter to the known laws according to which some of the mental faculties operate,—for example, the memory—all these facts seem to my mind to point at possibilities and chances of improvement, which a few persons, by expedients which, I frankly allow, seem even to me somewhat ignoble, have perhaps had the good fortune to realize beforehand.

You will see, then, that the problem, whether what is called cramming is an unmixed evil, is not yet settled even in England. But in India, the commonplace imputations against it seem to me simply without meaning of any kind. There is no proof whatever that Indian teachers follow any special methods of any sort. What appears to be meant is, that Natives of India learn with singular rapidity. The fact may be so, though for my part I doubt whether they learn with greater rapidity than English lads who once put their hearts into their work ; and it may be also true, as some allege so positively, that their precocity is compensated by a greater bluntness of the faculties later in life. But be this true or not, it has no sort or kind of connection with the disadvantages of cramming.

If, indeed, a student be taught or teach himself to put on the appearance of knowledge,

when he has it not,—if he learns to cover ignorance by ambiguous phrases, or to obtain an undue preference by pandering to the known crotchets or fancies of the examiner, the process and the result are alike evil ; but they have no bearing on the point I have been discussing. They are simply a fraud ; but I must say that the experience of those who know best is, that such frauds succeed, not through any special skill in the teacher, or any fault in the course of examination, but through the fault of the examiner. I say, and I say all the more strongly, because I have not the smallest justification for imputing it to the examiners of this University, that no erroneous modes of teaching, no faulty selection of books or subjects, can do a tenth part of the mischief and injustice entailed by the indulgence of vanity, or crotchettiness, or affectation, or indolence, on the part of the examiners.

If I had any complaint to make of the most highly educated class of Natives,—the class I mean which has received the highest European education,—a class to which our University has hardly as yet contributed many members (because it is too modern), but to which it will certainly make large additions one day—I should assuredly not complain of their mode of acquiring knowledge, or of the quality of that knowledge (except that it is too purely literary

and not sufficiently scientific), or of any evil effects it may have on their character, or manners, or habits. I should rather venture to express disappointment at the use to which they sometimes put it. It seems to me that not seldom they employ it for what I can best describe as irrationally reactionary purposes. It is not to be concealed, and I see plainly that educated Natives do not conceal from themselves, that they have, by the fact of their education, broken for ever with much in their history, much in their customs, much in their creed. Yet I constantly read, and sometimes hear, elaborate attempts on their part to persuade themselves and others, that there is a sense in which these rejected portions of Native history, and usage, and belief, are perfectly in harmony with the modern knowledge which the educated class has acquired, and with the modern civilisation to which it aspires. Very possibly, this may be nothing more than a mere literary feat, and a consequence of the over-literary education they receive. But whatever the cause, there can be no greater mistake, and, under the circumstances of this country, no more destructive mistake.

Now I would not be understood to complain of the romantic light in which educated Hindus sometimes read their past history. It is very difficult for any people to feel self-respect, if

they have no pride in their own annals. But this feeling, which I quite admit to be healthy when reasonably indulged, becomes unwholesome, and absurd too, when pushed to the extravagant length to which I sometimes see it driven here. There are some educated Native gentlemen who seem to have persuaded themselves, that there was once a time in India in which learning was more honoured and respected, and when the career of a learned man was more brilliant, than in British India and under British rule. They seem to believe, or they try to believe, that it was better to be a Brahmin or a scribe attached to the Court of some half mythical Hindu king, than to follow one of the prosaic learned professions which the English have created. Now thus much is certain. Although there is much in common between the present and the past, there is never so much in common as to make life tolerable to the men of the present, if they could step back into the past. There is no one in this room to whom the life of a hundred years since would not be acute suffering, if it could be lived over again. It is impossible even to imagine the condition of an educated Native, with some of the knowledge and many of the susceptibilities of the 19th century—indeed, perhaps, with too many of them—if he could recross the immense gulf which separates him from the India of Hindu poetry,



if indeed it ever existed. The only India, in fact, to which he could hope to return—and that retrogression is not beyond the range of conceivable possibilities—is the India of Mahratta robbery and Mahomedan rule.

I myself believe that European influences are, in great measure, the source of these delusions. The value attached in Europe to ancient Hindu literature, and deservedly attached, for its poetical and philological interest, has very naturally caused the Native to look back with pride and fondness on the era at which the great Sanskrit poems were composed and great philosophical systems evolved. But unquestionably this tendency has its chief root in this,—that the Natives of India have caught from us Europeans our modern trick of constructing, by means of works of fiction, and imaginary past out of the present, taking from the past its externals, its outward furniture, but building in the sympathies, the susceptibilities, and even (for it sometimes comes to that) the knowledge of the present time. Now this is all very well for us Europeans. It is true that, even with us, it may be that too much of the sloughed skin of the Past hangs about us, and impedes and disorders our movements. As the same time, the activity of social life in Europe is so exuberant, that no serious or sustained disadvantage arises from our pleasing ourselves with pictures of past centuries,

more or less unreal and untrue. But, here, the effect of such fictions, and of theories built on such fictions, is unmixedly deleterious. On the educated Native of India the Past presses with too awful and terrible a power for it to be safe for him to play or palter with it. The clouds which overshadow his household, the doubts which beset his mind, the impotence of progressive advance which he struggles against, are all part of an inheritance of nearly unmixed evil which he has received from the Past. The Past cannot be coloured by him in this way, without his misreading the present and endangering the Future. •

A similar mistake is committed by educated Natives, when they call in ingenious analogies and subtle explanations to justify usages which they do not venture to defend directly, or of which in their hearts they disapprove. I am not now referring to some particularly bad examples of this, though doubtless one does sometimes see educated Native writers glorifying by fine names things which are simply abominable. But I allude to something less revolting than this. There are Native usages, not in themselves open to heavy moral blame, which every educated man can see to be strongly protective of ignorance and prejudice. I perceive a tendency to defend these, sometimes on the ground that occasionally and incidentally they

serve some slight practical use, sometimes because an imaginative explanation of them can be given, sometimes and more often for the reason that something superficially like them can be detected in European society. I admit that this tendency is natural and even inevitable. The only influence which could quite correct it, would be the influence of European ideas conveyed otherwise than through books; in fact through social intercourse. But the social relations between the two races, at least of India, are still in so unsatisfactory a condition, that there is no such thing, or hardly such a thing, as mixed Native and European society. A late colleague of mine, Sir Charles Trevelyan, thought that things in this respect were worse when he was lately here than when he was first here. When he was first here he saw educated Natives mixing on equal terms with educated Europeans. But when he came out a second time to India, there was nothing of the kind. But perhaps that happier state of things was caused by the very smallness of educated Native society. As educated society among Natives has become larger, it has been more independent of European society, more self-sufficing; and, as is always the case under such circumstances, its peculiarities and characteristics are determined, in part, by its least advanced sections. But I must impress this on you that, in a partnership of that kind, in a

partnership between the less and more advanced, it is not the more advanced but the less advanced, not the better but the worse, that gains by glossing over an unjustifiable prejudice, a barbarous custom, or a false opinion. There is no greater delusion than to suppose that you weaken an error by giving it a colour of truth. On the contrary, you give it pertinacity and vitality, and greater power for evil.

I know that what I have been saying can hardly have much significance or force for the actual graduates of this University. There are few of them who can be old enough to be exercising that influence, literary or social, of which I have been speaking, and to which their countrymen are so amenable. But hereafter they may have occasion to recall my observations. If ever it occurs to them that there was once an India in which their lot would have been more brilliant or more honorable than it is now likely to be, let them depend upon it they are mistaken. To be the astrologer, or the poet, or the chronicler of the most heroic of mythical Indian princes (even if we could suppose him existing) would be intolerable even to a comparatively humble graduate of this University. They may be safely persuaded that, in spite of discouragements which do not all come from themselves or their countrymen, their real affinities are with Europe and the Future, not with

India and the Past. They would do well, once for all to acquiesce in it, and accept, with all its consequences, the marvellous destiny which has brought one of the youngest branches of the greatest family of mankind from the uttermost ends of the earth to renovate and educate the oldest. There is not yet perfect sympathy between the two, but intellectual sympathy, in part the fruit of this University, will come first, and moral and social sympathy will surely follow afterwards.

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*The 9th March, 1867.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Henry Sumner Maine,  
*Vice-Chancellor.*

GENTLEMEN,

My tenure of the office of Vice-Chancellor of this University will terminate in a few days. It would have ended much sooner,—indeed as soon as it became apparent that the connection of the Government of India with Calcutta was not likely to be continued through the whole year,—but for one single circumstance. It so happened that the late Bishop of Calcutta was able to be present in this city, and to serve on the Syndicate, during most part of my absence, and it was he who discharged practically the duties of Vice-Chancellor, duties which ordinarily are not very onerous or important. There was one special advantage in the arrangement. Nobody could doubt that the late Bishop, from his great learning, and from his great experience in education, had strong claims to the office which I have filled. But I believe that he had not made up his mind whether it was expedient that the office should be held otherwise than by a layman; and thus we seemed to avoid precipitating a question which cannot perhaps be solved without some degree of heated feeling. Having said this, I have

in part discharged the duty which is imposed on the Vice-Chancellor on these occasions, by general expectation, of noticing the principal events in the academical history of the year. The chief event is one of unqualified sadness, the loss of the Prelate of whom I have been speaking. Gentlemen, four years ago, on the first occasion of my addressing a meeting like this, I had to lament the departure from among us, happily not the death, of another clergyman who exercised great influence on this Institution during its infancy,—Dr. Duff. Gentlemen, since this phenomenon, of great influence exercised over this University, which of course is intended mainly for non-Christian races, by European gentlemen of great personal authority, but of deep devotion to their faith in Christianity—since this phenomenon has not probably occurred for the last time, it is worth while enquiring what the character of that influence has practically been. Gentlemen, Dr. Cotton and Dr. Duff belonged, so to speak, to the opposite poles of the British religious system. Dr. Duff was the voluntary emissary of a great unendowed religious body—Dr. Cotton was the chosen representative of a great hierarchy. Yet now, when I wish to speak of one, I am unable to find any other words than those which I used four years since of the other, and it is a relief to me not to have to seek for new words. Of the late Bishop

of Calcutta, I may also say that "believing his own creed to be true, he believed it to possess the great characteristic of truth,—that characteristic which nothing else except truth possesses—that it can be reconciled with everything else which is also true." And it is equally true of him that "he united the energy which springs from religious conviction, with the most absolute fearlessness in encouraging the spread of knowledge." Gentlemen, it is possible that more justice could have been done to the memory of the Bishop of Calcutta by some one in this place who knew him less intimately than I did. At present I only call on you to recognize, from consideration of these two conspicuous examples, how little the comprehensiveness and liberality of our system have to fear from deep faith and intense enthusiasm, when combined with commensurate intellectual strength.

Gentlemen, on this the last occasion of addressing you, I am not sure that I can do more than state what I have stated so many times, my belief in the great future which is reserved for this institution, and for other Indian Universities. At present we cannot of course point to much of tangible and visible effect on the mass of the Native community. This University is less than ten years old, and it takes many times ten years for the seed sown by institutions like this to fructify. It is, at all events,



clear that a very extraordinary stimulus is being given to the Native mind. The very number of names in our registers shows this, for even though it were true that the knowledge tested by our examinations was of the slightest kind, yet under the circumstances of India, the very diffusion of even slight knowledge over such multitudes of minds would be a fact of the utmost interest and importance. But it is not true, I am sorry I have to repeat the thing so many times, but it is not true that the knowledge which is diffused under the influence of this University is slight or superficial, except in a sense in which the proposition might be advanced of any University in any European country. Of course, as regards those who merely seek to satisfy the minimum test of examination, it may be said, as it may be said of the same class of students everywhere else, that they are not animated by any deep devotion to knowledge. But we are entitled to be judged by the performances of those who aim at our highest distinctions, and of those performances it is no exaggeration, but simple truth, to say they are rapidly approaching the highest European standards. I will give you some examples. Probably the Cambridge standard of Mathematics is the highest in the world. The Senior Wrangler, for his years, (a qualification which of course it is necessary to make), is probably the most accomplished mathematician

in Europe. Now, I have it on the authority of the Examiner, who did not himself fall far short of the highest Cambridge standard, that our first Bachelor of Arts, who obtained the first of the new scholarships, would, if he had continued his course of studies a little longer, have come very close to the level of the Senior Wrangler. Again, probably the Oxford standard of Philosophy, considering the youth of those who are expected to satisfy it, is about as high as any in the world. Again, I have it on the authority of an Examiner similarly qualified, that there is one of our new Masters of Arts, whose performances would do credit to the flower of the Oxford Schools. I know, indeed, that Mathematics and Metaphysics are branches of thought for which the Native mind has a special affinity; but the fact remains that the standard which has been reached is strictly European. I said before that for results on the community outside, it is too early to look. But still there are some of these results showing themselves. I will take one class of them within the sphere of my own profession, both because I can perhaps appreciate them better than I can others, and because the tests of judicial capacity are at least as strict as those of any other form of intellectual acquisition. Within the last few months, I have heard from several Judges of both High Courts established in Northern India, that they are getting to be exceedingly embarrassed

by the superiority of the younger Judges. I suppose many of you know that the Indian system of Appeal proceeds on the assumption that each Judge, beginning with the lowest, is inferior in judicial capacity to the Judge above him who modifies his decision. But it appears now that in some of the younger Judges familiarity with legal principle makes up for lack of experience; and thus the decision of the lower Judge is apt to be better than that of the Judge who modifies or reverses his judgment. Now, what explanation can be given of this phenomenon? Surely none except that the legal education ultimately determined by our Law Faculty is beginning to produce effects. Of the other professional Faculties I cannot speak with equal confidence, but I shall be very much surprised indeed, if those who are familiar with them do not find the same results exhibiting themselves. As to the Faculty of Arts, which is our largest Faculty, it is of course not possible to make a similar statement about it, because the criteria to be applied are, from the necessity of the case, not so strict. It is difficult to furnish accurate or precise proof of advance in general culture and morality. Perhaps it is for this reason that the course followed in the Faculty of Arts is giving rise to more division of opinion than any other. I myself, on a former occasion, expressed an opinion that whenever the time comes for

any change in the course of examination—and I trust it will not come soon, for all breaks in the continuity of University history, all interruptions in the intellectual pedigree of our graduates, are to be avoided if possible—that, whenever the time does come, a greater infusion of physical science is desirable, on account of the corrective influences which it is likely to exert on certain faults, perhaps, I should rather say, on certain excesses of the Native intellect. On the other hand, I cannot disguise from myself that the Faculty is exposed to criticism from the opposite point of view. It begins to be imputed to us that this University, and the whole system of Indian State-education generally, provide too scantily for purely Oriental culture, and recognise too grudgingly the achievements of Eastern literature and Eastern thought. I by no means say that there is nothing in the complaint, and, if ever it be possible to throw the knowledge we communicate into more decidedly Oriental forms, not only do I think that the change will be innocent, but I am sure that the propagation of knowledge will proceed with vastly augmented rapidity. But after all, Gentlemen, the question has not greatly shifted from the shape in which it presented itself to Lord Macaulay and the founders of modern education in India: that question is whether we are, or are not, asked, under the guise of Oriental

culture, to teach that which is not true—false morality, false history, false philosophy, and false physics. I can only speak at second-hand, but I allow Oriental literature to be so grand, and Oriental thought to be in some respects so remarkable, that the races to which they have descended have what may be called a right to their recognition. Nothing indeed has a higher right except one thing, and that one thing is Truth. The merely literary form in which knowledge is conveyed is in itself a small matter, and getting to be of less importance every day; the one essential consideration is the genuineness of the knowledge itself—the question whether it is a reality or a pretence. For myself I must confess that I do not see that the modes and courses of teaching followed in India can safely be further orientalized at present; and I fear that the greater affinity and sympathy which we are called upon to exhibit for Eastern thought would be purchased by the sacrifice of that truth, moral, historical, and physical, which will one day bind together the European and Asiatic minds, if ever they are to be united. But I must fully admit that the danger is diminishing, and that some day the number of truths accepted and established in India may be so great as to render idle any apprehension of the form in which they are clothed and conveyed. Meantime, I earnestly beg my Native hearers

to believe that this claim to absolute superiority for Western knowledge, to which I believe it necessary at present firmly to adhere, is not advanced in the mere arrogance of national pride. I am aware that many cultivated Native gentlemen, scholars renowned not only among their own countrymen but in Europe, are openly or secretly revolted by the pretension of a branch of the Indo-European family, which is one of the youngest in civilization, to come and bid one of the oldest to sit at its feet and learn. And no doubt the pretension is sometimes put forward with intolerable arrogance. But the truth is, that mind of India is undergoing a process without which all civilizations, young or old, are ultimately worthless. The language habitually employed in Europe—and more than ever employed since the rise of that cant about nationality and race, which promises to flood the world with false history, almost as much as it threatens to deluge it with blood—conceals the fact that, with one single exception, no race or nationality, left entirely to itself, has developed any intellectual result which is valuable or durable, except perhaps poetry. Not one of all those intellectual achievements which we regard as characteristic of the great progressive races of the world—not the law of the Romans, not the philosophy and sagacity of the Germans, not the luminous order of the French, not the

political aptitude of the English—would ever have come into existence, if those races had been left to themselves. To one small people, covering, in its original seat, no more than a hand's breadth of territory, it was given to create the principle of progress, of movement onwards and not backwards or downwards, of destruction tending to construction. That people was the Greek. Except the blind forces of Nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin. A ferment spreading from that source has vitalized all the great progressive races of mankind, penetrating from one to another, and producing, in each, results accordant with its hidden and latent genius, and results of course often far greater than any exhibited in Greece itself. It is this principle of progress which we English are communicating to India. We did not create it. We deserve no special credit for it. It came to us filtered through many different media. But we have received it, and, as we have received it, so we pass it on. There is no reason why, if it has time to work, it should not develope in India effects as wonderful as in any other of the societies of mankind. Having said this, I may be believed when I say in conclusion, that I shall always feel, with respect to this University, and Native education generally, the deepest interest in what is perhaps the

most remarkable experiment among the many remarkable experiments which my countrymen are trying in India.



*The 29th February, 1868.*

The Hon'ble Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr.

*Vice-Chancellor.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Following the example of some of my predecessors, I shall, in the first instance, request your attention to some of the statistics disclosed by the past examination, and to some of the events of the past year, before making such remarks as seem to me not altogether inappropriate to the Assembly and to the time.

At the Entrance Examination out of more than 1,500 students who presented themselves, more than 800 passed; 338 students appeared at the First Arts Examination, of whom 188 passed; there have been 99 degrees awarded to Bachelors of Arts; 13 have taken Honours, 2 are Masters of Arts; 3 are Licentiates in Law; 51 are Bachelors in Law; 17 have passed the first examination for Licentiates in Medicine, and 15 the second examination; 2 appear as Bachelors of Medicine, and there are 6 Licentiates of Civil Engineering. These are facts which may cause us to look with satisfaction on the continued progress of this University.

Among the events of the past year I may mention first, a handsome offer by a Native gentleman of a sum of 50,000 rupees, to found scholarships, the details of which, after a good deal of discussion, are well nigh approaching settlement. Another remarkable event in the past year of the University is the award of the first scholarship under the munificent bequest of Premchand Roychand of Bombay. It is difficult, and I believe it is almost impossible, to institute an actual comparison between the standard of scholarship at such an examination and the standard of scholarship at some of the celebrated open Fellowships or Scholarships at either of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, but I am credibly assured that, looking to the absence of text books, to the wide range of subjects, and to the answers of the candidates, the result is one which should cause us satisfaction, and which reflects credit upon the University as well as on the successful candidate. Another event of importance in the annals of the University for this year, was the receipt of a letter from a member of the Senate who takes a warm interest in Native education. That letter contained two proposals: one proposal was to the effect that this University should have power to grant honorary degrees for Oriental scholarship to deserving candidates. The Syndicate found on examination that a similar proposal

had been negatived about five years ago, and looking to the comparatively short time which a space of five years is in the history of a University, the Syndicate did not consider it advisable to entertain that proposition. They also thought that the time was hardly come when a purely honorary degree, granted by such a young institution as this University, would be highly appreciated in India. The second proposal was to the effect that this University should be permitted to affiliate Colleges and institutions in which true science, true history, and true metaphysics were taught through the medium of the Oriental tongues. But this proposal the Syndicate did not think fit to accede to, backed though it was by much reason and earnestness on the part of the proposer. There is, however, much in the proposal which has my sympathy and concurrence. But I think that the object of the writer may perhaps be attainable by other means. In truth it appears to me that the present number of candidates is so vast, the area of our affiliating institution is so extensive, and the success of this University is so decided, that I think the time is coming, if, indeed, it has not actually arrived, when the question of a fourth University, to be established in some of the fair cities of Upper India, must be fairly taken in hand and fairly looked in the face. At such an University it would be more possible to call into existence,

and to affiliate when in existence, Colleges in which true science and true metaphysics might perhaps be taught through the medium of Oriental tongues. It would there be more easy to foster them than it would be in the case of an University where a high value is obviously set on great attainments in English. Other questions, some political, some social, and some, perhaps, even financial, would have to be considered before establishment of such an institution. But when I remember, as I have reason to do, that the establishment of a fourth University actually formed part of the original draft of the great despatch on education sent out by Lord Halifax in 1854, I can have no doubt that, looking at it in whichever point of view we may, the question of the establishment of such an University is, after all, but a question of time.

I will now offer a few remarks on the four several Faculties in which, as is known to many, though perhaps not to all in this room, the University of Calcutta confers degrees and completes the education of the intelligent youth of this country.

I will take first the Faculty of Medicine. The pursuit of medicine, though carried on under divers restrictions and imperfections, has been congenial to Natives from the very earliest ages of their history. Many Natives have attained to high distinction in *materia medica* and in

chemistry, and the practice of anatomy is a daily and living example of one more victory of common sense and good feeling over prejudice and error. In truth, I do not know any more legitimate triumph, any higher gratification for a Native, trained in European science and possessed, at the same time, of a knowledge of the feelings, the habits, and the prejudices of his countrymen—for such an one. I say, to be permitted to enter the chamber of sorrow and suffering, not there to mutter some insensate formula, but to unfold the rich appliances of European skill and information, to appear as the herald and harbinger of comfort, and by God's Providence, to arrest the progress of disease and of death. Nor is the practice of medicine in this country to be associated solely with the gratification which springs from the display of high surgical attainments, or from correct and keen intuition into the origin and sources of disease. The practice of medicine may be distinguished—as it has been in the hands of Europeans, and as I trust it will be in the hands of Natives—by a fearless contempt of danger, and by an heroic discharge of duty, not merely amid senses of carnage and of horror, in the battle-field or in the beleaguered city, but in places where the hospitals are tainted with contagion, where the atmosphere is laden with malaria, and where there is nothing of the pomp, the circumstance,

and the pageantry of war to counteract the depressing influences which spring from scenes of death and desolation, from the agonies of the dying, and from the wail of the survivor.

I turn next to the Faculty of Civil Engineering ; a faculty in India in which there are few successful candidates, but one which seems admirably fitted to confer substantial benefits on this country. We are constantly being reminded by non-official suggestions and by official reports, that India is a land of undeveloped resources and of hidden wealth. Mechanical skill is often required to check or control those operations of nature, which are so rapid in effect, so colossal in their proportions, and so terrible in their results. There are mines of hidden wealth to be explored and to be utilized. There are estates to be surveyed, canals to be constructed, roads to be levelled, bridges to be built. For these and for all other great objects which our progressive civilization fosters, I trust to see the day when the natives of this country will come forward in larger numbers, and will furnish us with a band of men, born and educated in this country, who shall enable the British Government to rival or even to surpass the dim monuments of ancient Hindu tradition, or the more abiding memorials of later Mahomedan rule.

I turn next to the Faculty of Law—a faculty with which my duties for the last five years and

a half have made me both familiar and interested. The study of Law and of Jurisprudence seems one admirably fitted both for the Native intellect and for the present condition of Native society. You have, first, ancient systems of Jurisprudence, consecrated by the veneration of ages, in which, overlaid as they are by the interminable verbiage of hazy Pandits, it is still possible to discover legal principles and legal analogies according to which property is held, is divided, and is transmitted, and by which the rights, privileges, and duties of great sections of the community are clearly expounded and defined. You have a country, over a great portion of which, owing to a century of peace and prosperity and to immunity from war and invasion, wealth has accumulated, trade has expanded, commerce has flourished. You have, again, landholders who, partly from inclination and partly from want of a better field for the exercise of their faculties, are too apt to distinguish themselves by selfish resistance to the just claims of others, or by selfish aggrandisement and prosecution of their own. You have a rich and populous country; and increasing industry; a complex and difficult system of land tenures; and a state of social relations on which our progressive civilization only<sup>\*</sup> seems to confer increased energy, increased diversity, and increased depth. Then, when we come to the qualities

necessary for success in the profession of the Bar, no one denies to natives of this country retentive memories, power of comprehending legal analogies, ability to detect sophistries and to explode fallacies, fluency of exposition, fertility of expedients, readiness of resource. The effective use of such qualities has led, and is leading to competence and distinction at the Native bar, and in two well-known instances, one of which, unhappily, is now no longer a living example before us those qualities have deservedly led to the highest honors of the Judicial Bench. I need only remind you that in the very course of events, Native pleaders and Native barristers will be brought more and more into contact with the flower of the English bar, and that it is most imperative that they should maintain a high standard of professional honour and integrity, if they would keep up an equality with their English competitors in the science of forensic attack and defence. The foremost among you need not fear to break a lance with English advocates in the arena of litigation, but I do not think it unnecessary, to warn those who are just starting on such a career, that they must endeavour to unite devotion to the interests of their clients with candour and sincerity, a desire to give prominence to the salient points of the cause which they advocate with scrupulous accuracy of narrative, and



courtesy and fairness towards opponents, as well as fearless independence, with, what indeed I have not yet found wanting, a due respect for the position of the Bench.

I turn, last of all, to the Faculty of Arts, and here the branches of study are so numerous, the considerations are so suggestive, that I must be pardoned for only giving<sup>a</sup> to this portion of my subject a few cursory remarks. The day, I think, has already arrived, in Bengal at least, when no man who aspires to serve Government in high executive or judicial functions, comes to his task without a sound knowledge of the English literature and the English language, and I trust the day is soon coming when no one who is born to hereditary wealth and influence will, in the same manner, come forward to the discharge of the duties of active life without some appreciation of the master-pieces of English literature. I need not here warn you against what, in the phrase of one of the most forcible and the most brilliant of English orators\* at the present day, has been pointedly termed "the worship of inutility." I do not think it likely that you will mis-spend your time over the mere prettinesses of a liberal education, or that you will be anxious to acquire more mechanical tricks of composition and skill; but I do think it advisable to impress upon you most earnestly the necessity

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\* The Right Hon. R. Lowe.

of being familiar with the resources of your own vernacular tongue, whether it be the dialect, so polished, which is spoken with such purity and delicacy at the capitals of Lucknow and Delhi, or whether it be that Bengali language, which depends so closely on its great parent Sanskrit, but which, unlike that great parent, does not aim at turning a plain language into puzzles, or at making knowledge inaccessible to the masses. If you can fairly master the subjects which are now required for high degrees in this University; if, in addition to some knowledge of the exact sciences, and to some acquaintance with logic or mental philosophy, you are familiar with the strength and beauty of English literature; if you have mastered the grammar, the structure, and the fundamental rules of some ancient classical language, a knowledge which, within certain restrictions, is a strengthening and a salutary discipline to the intellect; and if, in addition, you are able to utilise and expand the resources of your own mother tongue, you will then, I think, have fulfilled some of the great conditions of education; and to say nothing of a memory richly stored with images of beauty and of truth, and of a familiarity with a noble literature which is such a relaxation amidst the most absorbing avocations, and the most exhaustive drudgery of a successful professional life, you will be able to enter on any profession, public or private,

with an intellect capable of sustaining connected trains of reasoning and thought, and—what will be in some professions a great advantage to you—a tongue or pen fitted to express your thoughts with some force and condensation of language, and possibly with some elegance and brilliancy of style.

Committed, however, as this University is, to a recognition of the claims of the ancient languages of India to reward and distinction, I am bound, upon this occasion, to express my deep and decided opinion, that English is the one language through which all Natives, Brahmin and Sudra, Hindu and Mahomedan alike, ought to pass, if they claim to be liberally and thoroughly educated. It appears to me that this question has long left the wide region of theory and of discussion, and is now settled within the narrower domain of established maxims and of accepted facts. The English literature is, to sum it up in a phrase, one of the noblest inheritances that was ever entrusted to any branch of the great family of mankind. And it is one to which the great writers of successive generations are daily bequeathing splendid legacies of language and of thought. Apart from its intrinsic worth and excellence, it is recommended to us, in this country, by every consideration of public policy and public convenience. Its advantage is acknowledged by every single

Native in this assembly ; its utility is canvassed, as I have reason to know, by Natives far lower in social standing than any here present. It is the language of commerce at the Presidencies. It is daily becoming more and more the language of law. It is now found essential to a knowledge of Jurisprudence, for all those who wish to rise above the mere status of an acute pleader famed for his accurate acquaintance with the technicalities of procedure, and the practice of the country Courts.

In allowing, then, the first place to English, as a preparation for the public service of this country, we are doing no more than those great masters of antiquity, the Romans did, when they established, as the language of public business, that language of elegance and perspicuity, which had been tried by Cicero, and yet by him had been found wanting, and when they preferred it to the claims of that other incomparable language, with which I shall be glad to think that some Natives of this country will hereafter become acquainted—that language of which it has been somewhere said that its depths had not been fathomed by Plato, nor all its splendours lit up even by the Promethean torch of Demosthenes ; a language, which the great historian Gibbon has characterised as one that gave a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. We are in fact doing no

more that what our predecessors in the administration of India did, when they established Persian as the language of law and of literature, of political supremacy and of executive rule.

And here I would venture to offer a few words of advice and encouragement, and, it may be, of warning to those who form so large and so important a portion of Her Majesty's British subjects in India, but who unfortunately, as we have this day seen, appear in such few numbers on the rolls of academic success. It is natural and it is excusable that Mahomedan gentlemen should dwell with pride and satisfaction on the changes which, in a period of six centuries, they have wrought on the face of India. They came from Central Asia with a religion which was in itself a standing protest against a corrupt and degrading idolatry. They modified and changed the old revenue system of the East. They flooded the social system with their own peculiar phraseology: they actually created one language, which, roughly nurtured in the camp, has since become the ornament of the palace; they altered the very nomenclature of populous districts, of crowded marts, and of rural hamlets: they impressed on the unyielding features of Hindu society some of their own peculiar customs, and they broke up the stagnation of the old Hindu life. Then they created mosques of singular beauty and elegance; they erected palaces not

unworthy of a long line of illustrious conquerors, and they deposited their illustrious dead in sepulchres, which, for costliness of material, for durability of structure, for splendour of proportion, and for completeness of effect, may well vie with the noblest monuments of English, Continental, or Italian art. Then they brought with them that language to which I have already alluded, polished, versatile, copious, practical : the language of the ready writer, of the man of letters, and of the man of business ; of mental philosophy and diplomatic intercourse : the language in which sonorous edicts might worthily be promulgated by mighty kings and by powerful viceroys : the language of the authentic history and that political narrative as to which Hindu annalists are so singularly barren and mute.

It is natural, it is excusable, I repeat, that the Mussulman should not let the memory of these things readily die ; but I must remind you that, in these days of competition, those who would not rise must fall ; those who do not keep forward will, perhaps, be left behind altogether in the race. And it is not by abdicating your position, by refusing to perform your functions, by refusing to acknowledge the inevitable teachings of history, that you can hope to maintain or to improve your position, or can become a power of importance in the State.

Whenever it has been found that Mahomedan gentlemen have entered the lists with Hindu rivals, their progress has been such as to strengthen the hopes of their friends and well-wishers ; and there have not been wanting signal instances of Mahomedans discharging important executive functions with credit to themselves, and with fidelity, with loyalty, and with good faith to the State. The path of honour and emolument is the path of duty ; and it is open to all, I trust, therefore, that Mahomedans, as a body, will bestir themselves, so as not to fall behind their Hindu rivals, and that they will come forward and exhibit, in the service of the British Government, something of that knowledge, that versatility, and that power which has given us the memorials of a great sovereign Administration, and the versatile literature of a highly polished Court.

I have not that minute and complete mastery over the details of education at the great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as compared with Indian standards, which distinguished my predecessor,\* whose eloquent addresses you have so often listened to with pleasure in this very hall and who is himself a striking example of rich classical attainments and high academic success, crowned by a career of marked utility to the State and to the people. I may, therefore,

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\* The Hon'ble H. S. Maine.

be pardoned if I dwell a little longer on the political and social effects of that education which I have closely watched, and with which I have been more or less connected for upwards of a quarter of a century. I have spoken by way of friendly encouragement and friendly warning to Mahomedan gentlemen. I will now speak of the burden and the duty, which, as it appears to me, devolve on Mahomedans and on Hindus alike.

The educated native of this country appears to stand in a very marked position. You possess, at the commencement of your career, at the outset of your public life, a minute knowledge of the feelings, the habits, and the prejudices of your countrymen, which, to the best, the wisest, and the most experienced among us, are only the result of painful research, of broken intercourse, and of imperfect observation. Things which to this day attract our curiosity, and excite our amazement, are habitual to you from your very earliest years. You can tell where dislike of innovation and reform may be justified by reason ; where that dislike becomes an unworthy prejudice, and where the pretensions or the restrictions of caste at once degenerate into an intolerable burden, or into a degrading tyranny. It may be that few of you are in the position of landholders who, by leisure, by affluence, by inherited wealth, by exemption from sordid



cares, are at once enabled to originate or to promote great schemes, having for their objects the amelioration of the masses. It may be that most of you will have to be the architects of your own fortunes, and to work your own way to competence or to distinction. But the education which you have received in the various institutions of this country places in your hands a mighty instrument for good. In knowledge, which is power, you will be far superior to the host of traders engaged simply in the acquisition of material wealth, or of Zemindars who are apt to think too little of their duties, and too much of their privileges and rights. I would ask you, then, to become the medium of diffusing amongst the masses of your countrymen liberal sentiments and enlightened views. Become, I ask you, what I may call the "missing link" between the community which often misapprehends the executive or the legislative action of Government, and the Government which often hesitates, in its very best endeavours, from imperfect communication or imperfect sympathy with the masses.

You have been admitted into what is called in the language of one of the first of living poets the "fairy tales of science and the long results of time." Pay back, then, I would ask you, to England something of the debt which you owe to her for the sound and elevating discipline of her

schools; for admission to the rich boards of her intellectual treasures; for familiarity with the depth of Shakespeare, and with the majesty of Milton; for access to new vistas of pleasure, new springs of enjoyment, new sources of power; for admission to words undreamt of, of entirely new sensation and thought. Let your career, either in the public service or in any public profession which you may adopt, be distinguished by an appreciation of the difficulties under which a foreign administration must invariably labour, by a free-spoken but a rational and an intelligent criticism of the acts of Government and its officers; by the diffusion of sound views among your fellow-countrymen, calculated to disperse the mists of error and prejudice; and, by what indeed I have never known wanting in the Natives of this part of India, by the invariable employment of constitutional methods for the redress of your grievances, and for the maintenance of your rights.

I do not say that education has not made great strides hitherto, and that many of the fruits of education have not been visible in the case of educated Natives, not merely in the hour of chaos and rebellion, but under the burden of taxation, and in peaceful times favourable only to political discussion, or to a popular and a passing discontent. Education has certainly made great strides since the rule of that high-minded,

humane, and independent nobleman,\* who was the first to detect the latent capacity of Natives for the executive and the judicial service—who invited—who tolerated, critical discussion of the measures of Government; who left the Press of India practically free; and who gave the first vigorous impulse to Native education, by quenching those unhallowed fires which, within the memory of men still living amongst us, might, from the very roof of Government House, have been seen, as I have reason to know, blazing in the very suburbs of this metropolis; fires which were lit up in selfishness and in cruelty, and which were as demoralizing to the spectators and the survivors as they were barren and profitless to the dead.

That schools should multiply and that schools so multiplied should be frequented by more numerous students; that it should be possible to conduct English official correspondence all over the country by the aid of Natives; that the English needle should be plied, and the English story book should be read in the recesses of many native houses; that Native journalists should be found to study English papers, and to transmit the information that they therein acquire, by views however imperfect or distorted, to the minds of their fellow countrymen; that educated Natives should often be found to address public

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\* Lord William Bentinck.

assemblies in the English language; that, brought face to face with European colleagues, they should lend the weight of their experience to our councils, should preside at our tribunals, and should plead at our bar—these are all gratifying signs of progress and advancement: they are all subjects of legitimate triumph and satisfaction to the Statesman: they are all so many landmarks in the history of educational progress: they are all guarantees of future achievements, and of greater triumphs to be won. But still I feel bound to tell you that, in spite of the fruit and of the blossoms which promise to bear greater fruit, you are yet in the position of a nation which, if not exactly in its infancy, is, I may say, using the language of Burke, a nation “scarcely hardened into the bone and gristle of manhood.” Your position seems to me, I do not say similar, but analogous to that of some great and rising Dependency, which is destined to reproduce, under different conditions, the arts, the literature, and the civilization of its parent. Your position may be likened to some of those colonies which Greece, in ancient days, sent forth to diffuse the arts and sciences around the shores of the Mediterranean, or to those great Dependencies, which, within the memory of the last two generations, our own England has seen rising into efficiency and importance in the Australasian seas. I do not say, and I do not wish

that you should attempt to reproduce in this country what would be not a copy, but a caricature of some Anglo-Saxon polity. But if India is to derive some lasting benefits from education; if she is to look for something beyond exterior grace and external accomplishments, and a regular supply of natives qualified for the public service; if she is to derive some solid and permanent results from our well considered laws, our beneficent commerce, our habit of free discussion, and our spirit of order and of law; if the great problem of stirring Oriental stagnation by European activity, and of moulding into something of consistency and coherence two such vitally different systems of thought and feeling—is ever to be solved, it is at your hands, in part, that we must look for its solution. I have, naturally, been of late reviewing the various addresses of my predecessors in this University, which has now arrived at the tenth year of its existence, and I have been much struck by the remarks of the first address ever delivered on a similar occasion, by the late Chief Justice of Bengal,\* not much more than nine years ago, who like so many eminent members of his noble profession, combined literary culture and a warm interest in native education with the strict and impartial administration of Criminal Justice, and with the exhaustive studies of the

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\* The Right Hon'ble Sir James Colville.

Civil Law. He spoke to the men of that generation, to use his own language by the "lurid light of a great conflagration," at a time when I may say that we were just stamping out the embers of the great Mutiny, and when by the policy of our statesmen and by the valour of our armies the dark cloud which had hung so ominously over our political and social future had at last been dissipated and pierced.

And if, in spite of dismal auguries, he was bold and confident as to the success of English education, how much more is there in the prospect before us to strengthen our interests, to animate our sympathies, to redouble our efforts, and to confirm our hopes. Assuredly it may be permitted to one standing in the place which I now occupy, to look forward to a time when the goal of toilsome research shall become the starting-point to new achievements of which, at the present day, few can form a just or adequate conception; to a time when the grandsons of those who are now listening to me upon this occasion, shall have won for themselves credit and honour by the discharge of functions which no one could now venture to think could be adequately discharged by a Native; when the great problem of raising and educating the female sex in this country shall have been triumphantly solved by the presence of native ladies, who shall gracefully discharge

those social duties which are now discharged by our wives and our daughters, and who will then be to you the centres of social attraction and refinement, as we are indeed willing to believe that they are, at this moment, the centres of your domestic affection ; when these convocations shall have been long held in some building conspicuous for architectural elegance and appropriateness of design ; when round the very name of this University shall have gathered something of the dignity that arises out of precedent, and something of the veneration that attaches to age and when the establishment of other Universities in the cities of the North of India, and a more complete, effective, and thorough education shall have roused into activity those faculties which now lie dormant or degraded, or which are only employed by their possessors in the pursuit of frivolous or sensual pursuits which engender vexation, and in broils and contentions of which too often poverty and wretchedness are the end. The Government will, no doubt, do its part in creating the demand, and then in furnishing the supply ; in giving honours and rewards to purely classical attainments, in reaching the masses, in directing their sympathies, dispersing their ignorance, and elevating their tone by a system of education applied to those whom it would be hopeless to expect that our English literature could ever touch. But

in the meantime you gentlemen, educated, subtle, intelligent, and thirsting for distinction, will not you come forward and aid us in completing the dream of the philosopher and the desire of the statesman? Will you not help us to raise the mere task of governing aliens in religion and blood into the elevation and dignity of a science founded, not on changing theories, but on settled maxims and established rules? Be well assured that potent and invisible auxiliaries will be ranged on your side. Those social forces which are inevitably set in motion when the heart of a nation is stirred, be it ever so slightly, and when its pulse is accelerated, be it ever so little; those forces will, I believe, be found unseen advocates of that cause which I am this day openly upholding; they will be found ranged on the side of political advancement and of social reform. They may be thwarted; they may be impeded; they may be diverted from their proper scope by human effort and by human apathy, but by neither the one nor the other will they be struck down with paralysis or death. For the use to which you shall put the education, the fruits of which have this day been made visible; for the practical effect which you shall give to your talents in your future career; for the very forms into which the changing surface of Hindu society shall be metamorphosed, you are responsible to your



consciences ; and in conclusion, I can only trust that you may affix a deep and a practical significance to that mere formula of admission which this day has been so often reiterated, and that you may, by your life and your conduct, give a satisfactory answer to those questions which we at what is, perhaps, a turning point in the history of India, are warranted in putting to you,—vital questions, an answer to which a just, a candid, and discriminating posterity will most assuredly require at your hands.

***The 27th February, 1869***

**The Hon'ble Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr,**

*Vice-Chancellor.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The year which has just closed, has been distinguished by the same relative increase in the numbers of candidates, and in the roll of those who have taken high degrees, as marked the preceding year. Putting aside the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, in which there has been a slight falling off, we find an increase in the number of those who passed the Entrance Examination, that of First Arts, that of Master of Arts, and those for the two degrees of Law. The growth of the University in numbers, has, in fact, been commensurate with the peace and general prosperity which have prevailed over a large surface of the empire, and, as far as mere examinations can test the ability and gauge the intellect of the nation, this University is a standing proof of the extension of culture, the spread of enlightenment, and the diffusion of learning.

The academic year itself has been marked by two events deserving of particular notice. The first prize has been awarded to the successful candidate for the scholarship due to the munificence

of the late Isan Chandra Bose; and a liberal bequest has been made by your intelligent and wealthy townsman, the late Babu Prosanno Kumar Tagore, for the establishment of a comprehensive course of lectures in Jurisprudence and Law.

I know few deeds more worthy of recital on such an occasion than those which indicate the desire of the wealthy and the learned of any country to bring knowledge within the reach of the humble and the lowly, and thus, to use the language of a great philosopher\* and orator, to perpetuate themselves with "the cravings of an insatiable generosity," as the benefactors of generations of students yet unborn.

The remarks which I made last year, as to the natural expansion of this institution beyond due limits, have received a practical and a certain confirmation in the earnest efforts which are now being made to establish an Oriental University at the capital of the Punjab.

It is not possible for me, at this moment, to explain what exactly is the shape which the proposed institution will assume, more than that it will give a fuller development to the study of the ancient classics of India; though I hold it to be desirable that, in the matter of degrees and honors, there should not be too wide a divergence from the standards actually established

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\* Burke,

and found to be successful elsewhere. But it seems quite certain, that there is a spontaneous movement amongst the Chiefs of the Punjab, for the establishment of an University which shall be devoted to the study of the Oriental classics, and which shall be, perhaps, more in conformity to the wishes and bent of the native community in that part of the Empire, than one which, though with good reason, is so largely devoted to the pursuit of English Science, English Philosophy and English Literature.

But I do feel warranted in asserting that any marked movement in favour of good education under any shape or guise, which originates with the people, and which is supported, as this has been, by substantial donations indicative of the earnestness of its supporters, is a movement which no wise and practical Government would contemptuously pass over, or prematurely blight.

I turn now to considerations of a more comprehensive character and a wider scope.

The occasion on which honours are distributed to the successful students of any great or popular institution, is, to my thinking, always a solemn and a significant sight. It is marked, in England, by a constant reference to historic associations, to long links of tradition, and to the careers of eminent individuals, which have become the acknowledged property and the common inheritance of the nation. And if, in

India, such anniversaries are lacking in the dignity and the charm which is conferred by unbroken precedent and long antiquity, yet the occasion is not altogether wanting in some of those ingredients, which raise the thoughts above the comparatively low level of official drudgery and of scholastic routine. We have before us, first, the animating sight of a large band of youths who, by patient study and generous emulation, have gained for themselves those academic honours, to which we fairly trust as the pledges of future distinction and utility in active life. We have the presence of Natives of an older generation, men of culture, of respectability, of influence, and of wealth. We have a number of English gentlemen distinguished, not perhaps so much for literary excellence, as for official aptitude and for triumphs gained in policy or in war, for judicial eminence, or for administrative skill. We have, further, the addition of those whose intelligent appreciation of the pursuits of the male sex, we have been taught to consider as an incalculable element of refinement and of strength; and, lastly, the assembly is presided over by an English Statesman, trained in those noble political rivalries, which, while they seem to sap and to weaken, in reality only strengthen and perpetuate the fabric of England's constitution, and who, on this and on every other occasion when he appears in

public in India, is the lieutenant and representative of Majesty itself.

But the ceremony of to-day derives a peculiar interest from its marking the period where one administration terminates, with its results and its retrospect, and another commences with all its aspirations and hopes.

I have been always much struck by a remark made by a Statesman \* who, for a short period, in a generation which has well nigh passed away, ruled this great empire with signal sagacity and success, and who still lives to adorn one of the noblest assemblies in the universe; the remark, I say, pointing to the very different award which awaits the soldier on the one side and the politician on the other, at the hands, not only of his cotemporaries, but of those of many subsequent generations. The fame of the soldier depends mainly, if not entirely, on success, and a blow well struck or a campaign happily terminated, is the signal for unhesitating and universal applause. The fame of the statesman, the administrator, and the politician depends on a variety of causes over which neither parties nor partisans can exercise effective control: it is viewed through a mirror in which is reflected something of passion, much of prejudice, something of hostility; it is exposed, on the one hand, to virulent mis-construction, and on the other,

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\* Lord Ellenborough.

to eulogies that may be overdrawn; and it depends, after all, on measures, the true force and ultimate object of which, unlike battles or sieges, few men living are able accurately to estimate. Writers are still disputing, sometimes with impartiality, sometimes with partiality, and sometimes with an acerbity that would better become participators in the events which they discuss, the precise merits or the exact place in history, which should be assigned to the statecraft of Walpole, to the splendid genius of Chatham, or to the eloquent patriotism of Burke; and you have only to cast a glance on the wide extent of periodical or daily literature, to appreciate the difficulties under which an Englishman, not to say a foreigner, must labour, in forming a just and not exaggerated conception of the character and the statesmanship of the great chiefs who, since the commencement of this century, have been the leaders of party in England, or of those who have guided or controlled our Indian administration for the last thirty years.

Two names, both intimately connected with India, have, during the past year, attracted the notice of all residents in India, and even that of the British public at home. The one is that of the soldier whose successful march through a wild and unknown territory resulted in a triumph, which at once commanded the applause and

admiration of the civilised world. The other is that of the Civilian Statesman, whose five years of patient enquiry, anxious deliberation, and weighty cares, have resulted in a variety of legislative and executive measures, which, whether for good or for evil, must exercise a vast influence over the future of India.

This is neither the place nor the occasion to review in detail, or even to glance cursorily at the leading events of the administration of the late Viceroy. But it cannot be inappropriate to remind those who are about to enter on the serious business of existence, that strength of character is often of more weight in winning the battle of life, than sheer intellectual ability or profound erudition. I say that it is most desirable that the youths of all countries, and the youths of India in particular, should have presented, for their guidance and imitation, characters which are distinguished not so much for brilliancy and glitter as for solidity and strength; that they should learn to pay some reverence to consistency of purpose and unity of aim; that they should be taught the true value of those sterling qualities which deserve that success which even they may not invariably command.

A great writer,\* who deservedly wields at this hour a vast influence over the minds of the

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\* Carlyle.



rising generation of Englishmen, has, in humorous phraseology of his own coining, some of which seems likely to attain to a permanent place in English literature, and to last as long as the language itself, has, I say, vehemently denounced the shallowness of those natures, who, in spite of talents and learning, have no moral fibre or tenacity ; who invariably swim with the stream, and shout with the crowd, who can face no difficulties, surmount no obstacles, create no party, achieve no results. In happy contrast to the above characteristics, I say that there is not a man here, be his political views or his public opinions what they may, who may not derive advantage from a careful contemplation of the career of that public servant, who commenced public life as an Assistant in the service of that well-known Institution, the Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, and has ended it, for the time, as Her Majesty's Viceroy and Governor-General in the East ; and I repeat that every man amongst us will do well to recall the memory of one, in whom a stern sense of justice was largely mingled with generosity and with mercy ; whose frankness and simplicity had something in them of the old Roman character ; who was alive to suggestions and yet was never daunted by clamour ; and whose whole life, from the day that he first landed to the day when he left India, was a practical exemplification of the

truth of that simple maxim, the endeavour to do his duty, which his illustrious brother bequeathed to Englishmen and Asiatics alike, as the best and truest legacy of his noble career.

These are the qualities which sustain the sinking heart in the hour of doubt and of difficulties, and which shed a purer light over the most successful triumphs of statesmanship. And believe me, that there is none in this or in any other assembly, so humble, or so elevated, but he may with advantage take them for his model and guide.

I have dwelt at some length on this topic, because it may well be that some of those present, or their relations and friends, may hereafter be placed in situations where the possession of such qualities will be anxiously looked for and severely tried. Such qualities may be exhibited in the charge of a fractional part of a remote and outlying district, as well as in the Metropolis of a great Empire, and at the head of affairs. In saying this, I do not forget that the sphere in which the Natives of the Lower Provinces have hitherto been most distinguished, is the forum and the Bench. I am violating no confidence and betraying no secrets, when I say that there is every disposition, on the part of the Indian Government, to encourage the peculiar bent and aptitude of the native mind ; to attract a larger portion of

educated Natives to the Judicial branch of the Service, by increased advantages and by higher pay; and to make the career of the Judge and the Advocate, as far as lies in its power, one synonymous with independence, with honour, and with benefit to the State and the people. Only, I would ask you to remember the difficulties, which, arising out of the climate, the very soil of the country, and the inveterate habits of the people, beset the path of the legislator, and may turn the study of a noble science to the mere exercise of verbal ingenuity, or degrade it still lower to the practice of chicanery, and the service of fraud.

The British Government will do its part in purifying the temple of justice; in making it accessible to the occasional and humble suitor as well as to the rich and habitual litigant; and in entrusting the property and the lives of its subjects to those whose capacity shall be unquestioned, as their hands have been pure. Do you play your part manfully in bringing about that great revolution which, forty years ago, was pressed on the legislators of his own country by that veteran reformer\* who, since we last met in this building, has gone to his grave, in the fullness of years and of honour; do you, I say, so strive that, within your scope and opportunities, you may, to use his own language, make Law

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\* Lord Brougham.

“not a two-edged sword of fraud and oppression, but the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence.”

I will now advert to a topic of a very different kind. I was lately reading an account of an annual representation, at one of our most ancient seats of learning in England, of one of the Comedies of an ancient writer, who, two thousand years ago, attracted and charmed the Knights and Senators of Rome, not yet corrupted from her pristine republican simplicity, and yet even then rising into the full consciousness of extended dominion and of imperial strength. The modern writer of the Latin Epilogue, by which such an entertainment is invariably concluded, after an amusing description of the incidents of the late election, proceeded to draw a striking and felicitous contrast between the turmoil of some great and vexed political controversy, and the sacred calm of an institution devoted to classical studies; where the clamour of the hustings did not penetrate, where the voice of faction was never heard, where pre-eminence was attained by assiduity and merit, and not by popular favour, and where successive generations of young men, after healthy competition and sound moral and physical training, were sent forth to the service of their country, which was itself strong and invigorated by institutions like these. And this picture with its contrast, was

drawn by the writer alluded to, with a grace and force, with an epigrammatic point, with a mastery over all the resources of the Latin language, with a felicitous adaptation of classical phraseology to the incidents and relations of modern social life, such as to make me doubt whether there was unerring wisdom in those attacks which have been lately directed against the practice of classical composition; whether that training could be wholly based on error, which gave accuracy to the thought, brilliancy to the expression, refinement to the taste; whether, in short, there was not something to be said in favour of those ~~who would~~ still recommend to the contemporaries of Browning and of Tennyson, a practical imitation of the graceful elegiacs of Ovid and Tibullus.

I regretted, too, the impossibility, in the present state of your social and domestic habits, of establishing in the plains of the Upper or the Lower Ganges, some institution which would reproduce the great public schools of England, where the youths of the higher and the middle classes might be brought close together in generous emulation; where homage would be paid as much to originality of character as to precocity of intellect; and where the students would be subjected to that judicious combination of liberty with discipline and restraint, which goes far to form the Administrator and the Warrior, the Statesman and the Judge.

But it is not to linger with regret over a change in classical studies which modern innovation perhaps renders inevitable, nor to grieve over the absence of an Eton or Harrow in the plains of Hindustan, that I have recalled to some, and for the first time mentioned to others of my audience, the time-honoured union which has so long subsisted between the Adelphi or the Phormio of Terence, and the Cloisters of Westminster. The point which struck me most forcibly was, that in England, as different from India, political considerations had comparatively little weight in shaping and determining the course of education. It may be that, even in England there are still difficulties and complications which have been perpetuated by the ancient hostility of Protestants and Roman Catholics. It is true that there are occasionally brought to light invidious distinctions, narrow formulas, unjust, arbitrary and capricious restrictions, imposed by the conservative tendencies of former public benefactors, which are doomed to a slow but a certain extinction by the wider sympathies and the more liberal tendencies which prevail at the present day. But, making allowances for these considerations, politics and education in England may run parallel, but do not ordinarily clash.

In India, on the contrary, it may be truly said, that the first and paramount consideration

in educational questions, is, the state of the country and the feelings of the people. The causes which contract or expand the desire for education, which bar our advance or stimulate us to greater exertions, are to be found deep-seated in the habits and customs of the masses, and it may be even said with truth, that education is actually affected by the physical aspect of the country and by the operations of nature itself. I mean that peculiarities of position and of climate have an effect in retarding or advancing knowledge, and that the number of students may be increased or diminished by want of communication, by the isolation of particular provinces, by an epidemic, by a pestilence, by the famine of which we were spectators three years ago, by the scarcity which we are only just now ceasing to apprehend. The truth is that moral and material works in this country act and re-act on each other, and there is not, I venture to say, a canal opened, a road laid down, or a railway which pushes its iron horns further and further into the heart of a province, which does not assist us in stimulating the energies and in developing the half-formed ideas of the community, and in creating those demands which it is afterwards necessary to supply.

But the physical aspect of the country, and any material changes, are, after all, of far less moment than the legacies bequeathed to us by

a by-gone civilisation. In shaping our whole educational system, in holding out to you the inestimable advantage of a training which imparts a knowledge of accurate and scientific truths, which conveys a fund of sound moral and political information, which replenishes the memory with an inexhaustible treasure of graceful associations, of splendid sayings, and of noble thoughts, and which enables its possessor to carry his disciplined energies to the practice of any liberal profession or to the service of the State, we have ever to consider what shoals we must avoid, on what rocks we are likely to split, what traditions we cannot afford to disregard, what prejudices we may defy with fearlessness, what sympathies we may invoke with success, and where we are to look for the bond which is to unite the intellects of Europe and Asia, or for the silver key which is to unlock those inmost sentiments and feelings, before which are swept away, as by a torrent, all distinctions, however important, of climate or of colour, of political experience and of religious belief.

In saying this I do not forget that we owe a debt to those enlightened gentlemen, who are leading the van of native progress and civilisation, and we can afford to trust to the rectitude of our intentions and the purity of our aims. But, still, we must feel that the best of our plans may be marred by defective intention or defective



intercourse, and that, at any moment, some unreasonable suspicion, some class interest, some wild hallucination, nay, some insensate conspiracy, may disarrange our plans, defeat our intentions, and divert or impede that spirit of progress which such obstacles cannot wholly destroy. You cannot look around you, in India as well as in England, without seeing on every side more or less of active enquiry, of gradual revolution, of unequivocal change. I would ask you to give one retrospect to the time when the Indian Statesman who has just bequeathed to his successor what we hope, is a fair heritage of peace and prosperity, was justly designated as the saviour of the empire in the anarchy of rebellion and the horrors of war. Look at India just eleven years ago; an administration in pieces; an impoverished exchequer; anarchy in the villages, lifelessness and inactivity in the great marts of industry and trade: its vast kingdoms overrun with armies, lit up by watch-fires, studded with camps. And look at it now, with multiplied colleges and well-filled schools; with a well-balanced political system; with expansive trade and unfettered commerce; with a replenished Treasury; with its fair provinces soon to be watered by the aqueduct: and its vast kingdoms even now girdled by the telegraph and pierced by the rail. Marked, indeed, is the barrier which separates the Hindu from

the traditional splendour of Vikramaditya, and the Hindu and Mahomedan from the prosaic history and the latter days of Alungir.

We require, however, a superstructure to that foundation on which we base our reasonable hopes. We wish to see, not merely the apathetic contentment of the masses, but their gradual enlightenment and the dispersion of their ignorance; the association of the higher classes in the administration of the empire; a cultivation which shall be solid as well as specious and showy; tenacity of character as well as subtlety of intellect; and an evidence that there are some who can guide, influence, and elevate the masses, as certainly as they can evidence loyalty and fidelity to the State. For this we offer you, as nourishment, not the shapeless fragments of a gigantic erudition, not the dry bones of an obsolete and unpractical philosophy, but we are willing to impart to you the secrets which give to nations that giant's strength which, it has been well said, it would be tyrannous to use as a giant would use it; the elements by which races and individuals become fitted for moral ascendancy and for political growth. I ask you, addressing you as I probably am for the last time on this occasion, to be the intellectual allies of a Government which if it creates no world-wide monuments of costly stone or of durable marble, aims at perpetuating its memory, even though

it were to the prejudice of its own material interests, by the bloodless triumphs of truth over error; and which, through the energy, through the devotion, through the very lives of its administrators, is daily seeking to effect the solution of a problem, which deriving no guidance from any long line of precedents, and finding scarce any analogies in the whole range of ancient and modern history, is still one with which are intimately associated the progress, the welfare, the regeneration of India, and the discharge, by England, of a great and national trust.

*The 27th February, 1869*

The Right Hon'ble Richard Southwell Bourke,  
Earl of Mayo, K. P.

*Chancellor*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, SENATORS, GRADUATES  
AND UNDER-GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY  
OF CALCUTTA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I rejoice most sincerely that I did not accede to the suggestion made by your Vice-Chancellor, with more modesty I think than discretion, that I should take a leading part in the proceedings of this day. Had I acceded to that suggestion, you would not have had the opportunity of hearing one of the most eloquent and appropriate addresses that has ever been delivered on such an occasion.

Gentlemen, I can assure you that I appreciate most deeply the privilege of having heard that address. I am sure that I express the sentiments of all present when I say that we feel deeply indebted to our Vice-Chancellor for the able and interesting oration which he has just delivered. There is one subject, however, to which I can not refrain from alluding, and that is to express to you on this my first appearance in public since my assumption of the office of Governor

General, what satisfaction it gives me to concur in those rich and eloquent phrases in which the Vice-Chancellor referred to my eminent predecessor. Those remarks I am sure went home to all your hearts, and I believe that if the Vice-Chancellor had been gifted with even more eloquence than that which he has displayed to-day in describing the great qualities of that distinguished man who has lately left our shores, he might have said much more with the entire concurrence of every person in this assemblage.

It would be presumptuous to me to attempt to add anything to those heart-stirring words, and I will only say, speaking in the presence of many who knew him well, that an honester man or one more determined to do what was right, never filled the high post of Governor General, than Sir John Lawrence. But why should I pursue this subject further?

“ His signal deeds and prowess high

Demand no sounding eulogy ;

Ye saw those deeds—

Why should his praise in verse be sung ?

The name that dwells on every tongue

No minstrel needs.”

Gentlemen, it would certainly be out of place here in addressing such an assembly, were I to attempt to dilate upon that which you all thoroughly appreciate, namely, the inestimable advantages of education. Were I to do so I

could only repeat that which has been said far better than I could say it, a thousand times before. It is indeed especially unnecessary where I see before me so many who have drank deep of the immortal spring and have found its waters sweet.

I have little doubt that all the young men who hear me now, have discovered, in a greater or a less degree, that learning brings with it its own exceeding great reward.

The numbers in which they are assembled, and the toil which they must have undergone in obtaining their honors and degrees, show how deeply they appreciate the boon which has been placed within their reach.

There was a time, Gentlemen, when doubts have been entertained as to the prudence and expediency of offering to the Natives of India a widespread system of national education, nor were these doubts alone confined to India. Many there were in past times who held—and even men of authority and knowledge were known to express such an opinion—that the indiscriminate diffusion of education might have the effect of weakening Government, of making the rich and the great more overbearing and more oppressive, and the poor more discontented with their lot. But I believe that these notions belonged to the fossil era of thought. If they are still entertained by any number of persons, their fallacy

is so well ascertained that the holders of them content themselves with impressing their views on their friends in private.

Gentlemen, the course that has been taken in this country with regard to this great question, was taken for no political object.

Those great and wise men who at no very distant time established that system from which, though still in its infancy, you have already so much benefited, never waited to consider whether that which they were doing would strengthen or weaken the hands of the Government.

They believed that to offer the means of acquiring knowledge to the inhabitants of this great continent was a sacred and a paramount duty; and they went forward in their work without fear or hesitation.

To your fellow subjects of the United Kingdom, Parliament and Government have made the most strenuous exertions to extend the means of diffusing knowledge, and to enlist on the side of education the sympathies of the entire nation.

To you the same advantages have been given, and as nearly as possible the same system has been established in your Schools, Colleges, and Universities, as is in operation at home—the determination on the part of your Rulers being to do in this matter what is right, and to leave the results in the hands of God. But be that as it may, I can frankly say as the Chief Administrator

of a Government that walks in the light of day and courts publicity for all its acts, that we fear not any investigation that the lamp of knowledge may cast upon our path. Compare your laws—the laws by which you are governed—compare them with those which have been devised by sages and learned men of every class, creed and age, and say, “Are they not good?” Read History and contrast the system of Government under which you live with those which for centuries have existed in this country—does the present system lose by comparison?

•Look to the great works which are being daily carried on around you—works by which the life-giving stream is carried to the doors of the homes of the poor—works by which communication by signal, by letter, or in person have been accelerated in a manner that is almost fabulous, think on all these things, and consider whether education will not enable you to appreciate a system which has produced such results. Can we, whose proudest boast is, that during our existence as a nation we have been the pioneers of civilisation and progress in every corner of the world, can we dread the increase of knowledge or the development of learning? No, Gentlemen, we offer you all these great facilities for the acquirement of knowledge and invite you to accompany us on our course unconditionally, freely, willingly, unhesitatingly, ungrudgingly;



at the same time I am not without hope that perhaps in the establishment of the School, the College and the University, we may be weaving a golden band which may bind in closer union the subjects of our Queen, be they dark or fair, whether they reside in the East or the West, or are members of those communities which are now bursting into life in the Islands of the Southern Seas.

Graduates and Under-Graduates of the University of Calcutta, hesitate not then to advance with energy and spirit on the course that is opened to you. Let not your studies terminate with your academic career. Keep—carefully keep—throughout your lives all that you have won with so much labour and toil, let no business or pleasure in after life deter you from maintaining actively the studies by which you have already won distinction and honor; and whether you are destined for a professional career or for a life of comparative ease, believe me that by continuing your literary or scientific pursuits you will provide for yourselves the greatest pleasure of your manhood and the best solace of your declining years. But, Gentlemen, in all the pride of intellectual attainment—and you have every right to be proud of what you have done—remember one great truth, that Virtue is above knowledge and that honour is greater than learning. You may depend upon

it that for the future, men will look with the deepest and the keenest curiosity on the influence that the lessons which you have learned in the University of Calcutta will have on your future lives. Show then to the world that study has given you power to appreciate to their full value, truth, honesty, and courage ; show to the world that to be learned is also to be good , show to the world that having conquered so many and great difficulties in the acquirement of knowledge, you have obtained also command over yourselves ; for it is

“ Virtue only gives us bliss below,  
And all our knowledge is ourselves to know.”

*The 26th February, 1870*

The Hon'ble Mr. E. C. Bayley, C. S. I.

*Vice-Chancellor.*

GENTLEMEN,

I propose, if you will allow me, very briefly to draw your attention to the results of the University Examination just concluded, as compared with those of the two past years.

YEAR.	No. of candidates.	NO. PASSED IN			TOTAL.
		1st Division.	2nd Division.	3rd Division.	
ENTRANCE EXAMINATION.					
December 1867	1,507	95	363	356	814
" 1868	1,734	146	435	311	892
" 1869	1,730	178	440	199	817
FIRST EXAMINATION IN ARTS.					
December 1867	388	39	84	65	188
" 1868	423	12	81	103	196
" 1869	520	23	81	121	225
B. A. EXAMINATION.					
January 1868	212	20	47	32	99
" 1869	174	14	33	30	77
" 1870	210	16	46	36	98
HONORS IN ARTS & M.A. EXAMINATION.					
February 1868	25	...	...	...	15
" 1869	29	...	...	...	18
" 1870	32	...	...	...	24
B. L. EXAMINATION.					
January 1868	72	8	43	...	51
" 1869	98	6	52	...	58
" 1870	87	11	63	...	74
LICENSE IN LAW EXAMINATION.					
January 1868	10	...	...	...	3
" 1869	32	...	...	...	13
" 1870	26	...	...	...	18

YEAR.	No. of candidates.	PASSED IN THE		TOTAL
		1st Division.	2nd Division.	
L. M. S. EXAMINATION.				
March 1867	18	5	10	15
" 1868	13	1	10	11
" 1869	20	...	...	19
B. M. EXAMINATION.				
March 1867	2	1	1	2
" 1868	4	1	2	3
" 1869	2	1	1	2
L. C. E. EXAMINATION.				
June 1867	6	4	2	6
" 1868	3	1	1	2
" 1869	7	.	4	4

These figures do not, perhaps, show an expansion of higher education as rapid as has been apparently the case in preceding years. Rightly interpreted, however, they by no means indicate that the desire for such education on this side of India has reached its normal limit. For some years past the attention of the University authorities has been devoted to measures intended to secure more thorough teaching and results of a more solid character than heretofore. These alterations have only come fully into operation at the recent examinations. Their effect has been no doubt to check any large advance in the number of candidates. That they seem to answer the intended object may, on the other hand, perhaps be deduced from the fact that, while the number of candidates remains about the same as that reached last year, the number of those who have succeeded in passing the various

examinations is, in every case, as large as ever, while, as a general rule, the proportion of those who have passed in the upper divisions is greater than before.

The University may, therefore, perhaps be fairly congratulated on its success in this respect, and it is a success of no small moment. For it is not too much to say that, nothing could be more fatal to the development of intellectual progress than the prevalence of habits of inaccurate thought and insufficient inquiry; and these, superficial teaching is sure to generate.

It has been the custom, on occasions such as the present, to notice briefly the main incidents in the history of the University since the last convocation. I have not any matters of very striking importance to lay before you now. That of most interest relates to the establishment of the Professorship of Law in connection with the University,—the result of the munificent bequest of the late Hon'ble Prasanno Kumar Tagore which my predecessor had the pleasure of announcing last year.

The formation of a Professorship in direct connection with the University, occurring for the first time, necessitated grave considerations of the steps to be taken. The scheme which has been finally adopted has been partly determined by the condition attached to the bequest, "that

a complete course of lectures be delivered annually." It has been decided that the Syndicate, in consultation with the Professor and the Faculty of Law, shall select a particular branch of Hindu, Mahomedan or Anglo-Indian Law, as the object of each annual course; that the selections of subjects be made with a view to the ultimate formation of a body of Institutes of Indian Law, and that the Professor be appointed for three years.

These measures, the Senate hope, will secure the treatment of each subject on a satisfactory basis, and I may venture to express a hope that the selection which the University has made of its first Professor, is a further security that this foundation may be so employed as fully to carry out the excellent intentions of its lamented author.

Another matter of some importance, as effecting the working of the University, has also been brought to notice by the authorities of the North-Western Provinces, viz., the hardship imposed on students in those Provinces by obligatory attendance in Calcutta for the B. A. Examination. These representations appeared to the Syndicate to be *prima facie* valid, and the Senate will be asked to sanction the holding of such examinations at Agra in future years. Meanwhile, a provisional sanction was given to the measure for the past year.

Four Institutions have been affiliated to the University during the year, *viz.*, the Canning College at Lucknow, the Gowhatti and Cuttack High Schools in Law, and Allahabad High School in Arts.

It is not now the place or the time to review more generally the mode of teaching which the University has adopted. I will only add that I think recent measures may be accepted as an earnest of the readiness of the Senate to cure any defects in the working of the University, and to adapt it from time to time to the growing necessity of the country. Further measures indeed to this end it has been my duty already to propose to the Syndicate. If, as I hope, they are found practicable and likely to prove advantageous, they will probably be brought into operation in the course of the current year.

There is, however, a subject which has of late attracted much attention, not only in India but in Europe, and which, in one form or another, has repeatedly been urged upon the consideration of the Senate; and I would take this opportunity to state briefly the attitude, in reference to that subject, which I believe that this University and all other Indian Universities should assume. I mean the subject of *technical* education, that is to say, the teaching of professional details as distinct from simple intellectual training. It is unnecessary for my purpose to

discuss the whole of this vexed question, for the Indian Universities are, I believe, placed in a peculiar position. The first task which is before them, that of creating a new standard of intellectual culture, of spreading new and more perfect modes of intellectual training, is so all-important, that the mere communication of technical knowledge sinks into insignificance besides it. Moreover, the necessity for action in this direction is so urgent, the field over which it must be carried is so wide, and the most extensive machinery which can ever be available is so inadequate, that this work alone must absorb all the resources and exhaust all the energies which our Universities are ever likely to command. No doubt, on the other hand, the necessities of society in India require that for certain purposes, and to a limited extent, provision should be made for instruction in those professions which are more or less of a scientific character, and that the function of superintending such duties and of testing their results has devolved on the University. Nevertheless, I still think that our Indian Universities would more strictly fulfil their proper functions if they took notice of such teaching only so far as it is founded on a purely scientific basis, and the communication of professional details could be relegated to some other and purely professional agency. My object, however, in thus alluding to the point, is



not to protest in any way against the existing arrangement in this respect, but to vindicate, generally, the attitude which this University has assumed. In taking up that attitude, it has, I venture to think, not only maintained the intentions of its original founders, but has also best discharged its proper duties.

What is it, indeed, which gives interest to our proceedings of to-day? It surely is not merely the knowledge that so many more young men have gone out into the ordinary employments of life, or even the interest which the competition of individual candidates, and the exhibition of their several intellectual powers affords. Such personal considerations could exercise but a very narrow influence; and if ever any doubt or curiosity was felt—and I am sure that to those who are acquainted with the past intellectual history of India no such doubt ever suggested itself—of the suitability of Western training for Indian intellects, that doubt has long since been triumphantly solved.

But the truth is that the degrees conferred by the University, as they now stand, are the certificates of a high and thoroughly intellectual training, fitting the recipient as an agent of intellectual progress, and of a new and advancing civilization; it is therefore as the destined emissaries and instruments of this progress that the graduates of this University stand as objects

of interest in the eyes of those who have assembled here to-day. And in thus dwelling for a moment on the high dignity and national importance of the position which they occupy, my object, I need hardly say, is not merely to congratulate those who have so recently attained this position; it is rather to dwell upon their responsibilities; and if in doing so I remind them of the advantages which they enjoy, and risk the charge of ministering somewhat to their vanity, I am content to bear the imputation—  
After all

“Self-love \* \* \* is not so vile a sin as self-neglecting.”

It is against any neglect or misuse of their vantage ground that I really appeal to them. Training and acquirements of the highest class are most certainly of value, exactly in proportion as they are likely to be reproductive. The action of the University, indeed, may be said to consist in fitting those who come under its influence with the highest of intellectual weapons, and with the discipline and training necessary for their use; and the object of the founders of the University in providing such a training was certainly not simply to give to the recipients an advantage over their competitors in the ordinary pursuits of life, nor even that they might, by the indirect example of their acquirements and their conduct, help to elevate the character of the

society in which they move. Far be it from me to deny that such indirect influence is without great and increasing power, nor am I inclined to underrate what it has actually already effected. But this influence, by itself, is wholly inadequate to meet the necessities of the time and of the country. It might not be, perhaps, too much to affirm as a general proposition, that every man who has received an intellectual training, such as the obtainment even of an ordinary University degree implies, owes in return some contribution, however small, to the great sum of human knowledge. But as regards India, this would be a very insufficient expression of the truth.

The graduates indeed of the Indian Universities, representing, as they may be said alone to do, the intellectual culture in India, bear the most utterly insignificant numerical proportion to the great mass of the population. This will doubtless always be in some degree the case. The cost both in time and money of the highest education will always limit the numbers of those to whom it is accessible; and it is this fact that enhances the responsibilities, and gives urgency to the duties of the comparatively few who are able to obtain it. Let me not be misunderstood. I am not so quixotic as to suppose that those to whom the intellectual facilities which they enjoy open the road to wealth, to power, and to honor,

are bound to renounce these—to renounce all the personal advantages which lie before them—and to give themselves up to the advancement of knowledge and intellectual progress among their fellow-countrymen. On the contrary, I well know that it is the possibility of attaining such rewards which will be always the main inducement for the labour and the self-denial, which high intellectual training requires.

There will, perhaps, always be a few whom a high sense of duty, or an abstract love of learning or of science, will induce to devote themselves wholly to their favourite pursuits. In truth, we have not been already without some examples of the kind, and the ancient social habits and traditions of the country are peculiarly favourable to self-devotion of this class. But unless these examples are far more common than I fear they are likely soon to become even in India, they can effect but little. It will also naturally be long before the law of demand and supply will raise up a separate class of Indian literary men. In the meantime the obligation lies heavy upon the whole body of those who have received higher education, to do more than they have hitherto done towards its reproduction on their own soil. Nor do I think that any man whose name stands on the calendar of this University can hold himself entirely exempted from all share in this labour.

And in saying this, I do not seek to impute any blame, but merely to enforce what, I feel convinced, is a very urgent and serious *duty*.

And the obligation is the greater, because the stores of knowledge and the fields of action and research which are open to those whom the Universities have trained, and to them alone among the enormous multitudes of their countrymen, are of almost unparalleled value and extent.

These have, indeed, been so recently described by the learned Chancellor of our sister University at Bombay, that I am relieved from the necessity of entering into much detail upon the subject. But I ask leave to detain you for a few minutes, in order to consider some of the advantages which the modern Indian student possesses. The task which is before the Indian student of to-day is really very much that which the students of mediæval Europe were called upon to fulfil at the revival of learning. And yet the stores of literature and science which were then available to the latter can bear no comparison with the vast accumulations now available to students even in the English language alone; and it must be remembered that, in addition to this, the Indian student has an ancient indigenous literature of his own, capable perhaps of becoming of as great value to him as the learning and the

literature of Greece and Rome proved to the earlier scholars in Europe.

Again, one of my ablest predecessors in this office took occasion to direct your attention to the study of philology, and in eloquent terms described its high interest, and briefly indicated the great importance of the results which it has already yielded to modern methods of research. But even his glowing language failed, I think, to set forth the peculiar advantages which Indian students of philology enjoy and the magnitude of the discoveries which it may yet yield to their inquiries.

I need hardly say that a knowledge of Sanskrit was the key which so unexpectedly unlocked the treasures of philology. This knowledge is of course far more accessible and more easy in every way of attainment to the Indian than to the European scholar. But more than this, embedded, so to speak, among the mass of those who in India speak languages derived from the Aryan stock, are to be found the fragments of other populations, whose dialects represent, perhaps, all the other great divisions of human speech in various stages of their growth. With such a field of inquiry at the very door, and with so great facilities for exploring it, I confess to some surprise that this study has not already gained greater favour with Indian students. The study of philology, moreover, is yet everywhere in its

infancy, and great as have been the results which it has already yielded, it is hardly to be doubted that others of equal or greater value still remain to be discovered ; and I have no hesitation in saying that, with so great odds in their favour, Indian students, ought eventually to take the first place in the development of this great science.

I will call attention to one more subject as yet almost unknown, but in which, perhaps, it is possible to make discoveries of great interest and importance, and which is almost inaccessible to all but Native inquirers ; I mean the examination of the customs, the traditions, and the everyday practices of the people, treasured up amongst which there is certainly an enormous body of information, the value of which can hardly be appreciated, till it is fully tested by the aid of modern science. Within its range are preserved not merely the relics of an ancient and in some respects very advanced civilisation, but also the knowledge which has accumulated from the experience of thousands of years, much of which has been the produce of innumerable experiments, mainly, perhaps, empiric in their character, but not the less valuable in their results. Indeed, it is only a few months since that a very able chemist in the service of Government had his attention drawn to one of the commonest processes in Southern India—

one which had been employed certainly for many generations : I mean the ordinary Native process of distillation ; and to his surprise found it not only singularly complete and useful in itself, but founded upon principles capable of explanation only by some of the most recent discoveries of modern science.

In almost all the physical sciences, again, in Geology, in Natural History, and in Botany, India affords fields of research almost untrodden.

To those, in fact, who are ready to brace themselves for the task, it is not too much to say that an abundant harvest of success is assured, whether the field which they select is that of letters alone, or of scientific research—a success which is certain to redound to the benefit of their own countrymen, and possibly to that of the world at large. Is it then too much to ask that of those who alone are fitted for the work, each should give some aid to help it forward ? It is almost impossible to exaggerate the need of such assistance.

As I have already hinted, there are two methods in which such labours can be mainly useful,—in the erection of national schools of science, and the creation of a national literature.

Of the former it may be said, that such schools hardly yet exist ; and as regards fresh discoveries, science, no doubt, usual progresses with slow and cautious steps. Still no science,



even in its simplest form, will ever make any impression on a nation, so long as it is locked up in strange forms and foreign idioms. It must be put into a shape suitable to popular comprehension, and fitted for popular wants, before it can meet with general acceptance, or be of general use. Indian schools of science have therefore the double task before them,—of directing independent researches into new fields, and of moulding the results which such researches have produced, and are producing elsewhere, into expressions suited to popular modes of thought, and into forms required by the habits and accidents of Indian social life.

But it is, perhaps, in the direction of Vernacular literature that assistance is most required. It is difficult for those who have not the opportunity of watching the progress of education, to understand how this is limited and hindered by the want of a good Vernacular literature; how numerous the classes are to whom the bare existence of a good Vernacular literature would throw open the means of acquiring knowledge, the means of self-training and improvement. A Vernacular literature is, I gladly admit, beginning to show itself. But without attempting any criticism on its general character, it is sufficient to say that even where it is largest and best, it is utterly inadequate to the requirements of the case; and it is in this direction that I

would especially urge the efforts of the educated classes in India, because in England, even within my own recollection, enormous benefit has resulted from the efforts of a few zealous men towards the information and dissemination of a sound popular literature. I am not unaware that some gentlemen, specially in Bengal, have made similar attempts already; such men deserve all honour. But there is yet so much to be done in the way of making knowledge accessible, in placing it before the people in a shape which will command their attention and their sympathies, and in superseding what is useless, cumbrous or worse, that I may say the field is everywhere still practically unoccupied.

What I have hitherto dwelt upon, however, has chiefly had relation to the necessity for popularising and extending the higher forms of education.

And I think that none of those who have heard me to-day will accuse me of undervaluing education of this class; but to employ all our efforts to its attainment, in the face of the enormous mass of ignorance which this country contains, would be, I believe, to imitate the wisdom of that poor queen who sought to satisfy with cakes a nation famishing for bread. I have endeavoured to show that the main use of high education to India consists in the effect which it ought to exercise on education of a more

popular character. I feel, however, that I should not rightly avail myself of this opportunity, if I failed to go further still, and to urge that the true complement of higher education of all kinds consists in the education of the poorest and humblest of the people. I know that there are some who think otherwise—some whose ability and whose philanthropy lend weight to their opinion, and who hold that it is sufficient to provide high education for a comparatively small number, and to leave it to work out at random its effect upon the bulk of the population, in the conviction that it will, so to speak, by its own gravitation, eventually permeate the whole.

If I chose to follow out this illustration, I might reply that the rain will only permeate the soil and fertilise it to any useful reproduction, when that soil has been broken up and prepared beforehand ; and, indeed, I believe that no simile could more nearly represent the truth as regards this matter. But I prefer to employ another class of argument. We in India are able to profit not merely by the successes, but by the mistakes of Western nations. This case unfortunately is one in which we should be warned especially by English errors.

Some of my hearers may perhaps remember that, on a similar occasion to the present, a former Vice-Chancellor described the gradual rise of the English Universities, and drew

attention to the close resemblance between their earliest history and that of our own University. If it had been then his object to elaborate the picture, he would no doubt have explained how eventually these grand foundations were supplemented by minor schools, planted by royal or private munificence among all the larger cities and towns, until by these, and by other similar schools, the education of the higher and middle classes was long since secured to a very satisfactory extent. But up to a comparatively recent date no real attempt was ever made to provide education for the bulk of the lower classes of the people; and even now, what has been accomplished in England is admittedly extremely inadequate. Now, I do not hesitate to say that some of the most serious evils and gravest difficulties which the ingenuity and the wisdom of statesmen of all parties in England are at present taxed to remedy, arise in a great measure from this omission.

The subject is long and intricate, and it is impossible to discuss it fully here. I will, however, only ask those who hear me to follow me into one aspect of the question—one which their own experience will, perhaps, enable them to appreciate.

The one feature of oriental life which strikes all European observers most forcibly and pleasantly, is the comparative social equality of

rich and poor, and the close identity of their feelings and sympathies. Even in India, inhabited as it is by "men of many races, languages and religions," and in spite of the barriers of some peculiar customs, I think that this remark holds good; and that within the various circles into which society is divided, there is far less distance between the highest and the smallest than is commonly the case in the Western world. On the other hand, the most earnest philanthropists, the most sagacious statesmen, join in lamenting the evils and the dangers which have arisen in England and elsewhere in Europe, from the separation and the estrangement and the want of common sympathies too generally existing between rich and poor. Now, beyond doubt, much of all this is due to the fact that on the possession of means has depended in a greater or less degree the opportunity of education, until, in fact, the rich classes may be almost said to represent exclusively education and refinement, the poorest ignorance and debasement, so that with the wider diffusion of advanced education, a barrier is rapidly growing up by which, in almost every relation of life, the free intercourse and exchange of sympathies between the humbler classes and their superiors, so necessary to a sound condition of society, will be hindered, if not altogether rendered impossible.

Apart from the political evil which such a state of things implies, and the future danger which it involves of disunion and hatred between class and class, can hardly be exaggerated, those Native gentlemen who hear me will, I am sure, from their own experience, appreciate the mischievous change which would come over all the relations of Native society, and the baneful influence which would be thrown over their daily life, did such a state of things exist here; and they may perhaps, therefore, understand even from this one aspect of the question, how great and immediate is the necessity for securing simultaneously to all classes the largest possible share of educational advantages.

Gentlemen, this is but a very partial glance at one of the many bearings of this most important question, to which, as I have already said, I cannot hope to do full justice on this occasion.

I am sure, however, that there is no subject which so concerns the future prosperity of India—none which indeed everywhere concerns more intimately even the selfish interests of the educated and the rich. It is fortunately however, a question in the disposal of which nearly everyone may give some assistance; and I feel an earnest hope that in India those who are by education, by influence, by rank, or by wealth placed above the lowest level of their countrymen, will each and all at this early stage and

before further artificial difficulties have grown up, do something towards the satisfactory solution of it. Above all, it is upon those who stand in the front rank of the intelligent classes of the Native community, that is, upon the graduates of this University, that in this respect also the burden lies, of contributing by their example and their advice to the future welfare of the country.

No doubt the task is so vast, and the agency at present so comparatively small, that those who do not know how great are the wonders which the energy and perseverance even of a few can effect, might well be faint of heart; but if each and all of those whose duty and whose pride it ought to be to lead popular opinion, will, at once, address themselves to the task with faith in the power of their own individual efforts, and of the incalculable value of the object before them, I think it is safe to predict that many of those who now hear me will live to see results almost beyond their most enthusiastic hopes.

At least of this I have no doubt whatever, that if we look not merely for the intellectual advancement and increased material prosperity of India, but even that in this respect the country shall maintain its present position among the nations of the world, we must, as one chief means to this end, secure not merely a certain modicum of Western learning and Western

science, but diffusion of the advantages of education to all classes of the people.

Gentlemen, I have endeavoured to sketch the relations which the various forms and degrees of educational policy bear to each other. I have especially endeavoured to shadow forth the peculiar burden which is laid upon those who, in this University, have received the benefits of the highest training, to assist in the wider diffusion of education among every class and under every shape. I have tried to make it clear that they are, and long must be, the only possible exponents to the masses of their countrymen of Western knowledge, that it is to them alone that we must look for that blending of all that is active and vigorous in the new learning with all that is valuable in the old, for the organisation of researches in the many fields of inquiry that lie yet unexplored at our very door, for transmuting into forms suitable to Indian thoughts and Indian wants, the best fruits of ancient knowledge and of modern learning and discovery, and for thus rendering them accessible to all classes of the people; and above all I have endeavoured to show that it is to them that we must look as the chief agents in the provision of education for the poor. I have no hesitation in saying that as their active aid and influence are used for these purposes, or withheld, not only the enlightenment, but even the material progress



of the entire nation will be either hastened or retarded.

Those whom we send out this day to the active business of life with all the best advantages which education can give, need not be assured, I think, that they carry with them our friendly interest and our kindly wishes. I cannot, I believe, offer any more salutary advice than to urge them to remember always that they, in common with all the graduates of this University, occupy indeed a position of great honour, but also, as I started by saying, of great responsibility. I trust and believe that they will show themselves in all respects equal to that responsibility, and therefore worthy of that honour.

*The 18th March, 1871*

The Hon'ble Mr. E. C. Bayley, C.S.I.

*Vice-Chancellor*

Before passing on to review, as is customary, the history of the University since the last Convocation, I desire to say a few words on another subject. We have had, during the past year, to lament the loss of several Members of our Senate, to whose past exertions in the cause of education, much of what has been accomplished is due, and from whose future we had also much to expect. The loss which the Public Service has sustained by the death of the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, has been fittingly acknowledged by the highest authorities in the State. Nor is this the place for the expressions of private regard; but, in connection specially with the valuable educational experiments now being conducted in the Province which was under his charge, it is impossible not to mourn the deprivation of his great ability, his ripe experience, and his independent judgment.

The catholic zeal and the self-denying energy of the late Dr. Ogilvie cannot, perhaps, be rightly appreciated save by those among whom he so closely laboured for a period of more than

twenty years; but it is only just to record, as our Syndicate has already done formally, how great have been the services which he rendered by his whole life to the cause of education, and especially by his good work in connection with the governing body of this University.

In Oudh, one of our newest Provinces, the comparatively advanced condition of education among all classes bears testimony to the zeal, the energy, and the tact of the late Mr. Handford, and his loss is the more grievous because it has occurred in the prime of his career, and at the very commencement of his success.

I proceed now to consider briefly the working of the University during year 1870-71. The changes which have been made in the regulations of the University have been small, but not altogether unimportant. The Hon'ble Mr. Markby suggested an alteration in the regulations regarding the study of Law, and these proposals, slightly modified by the Faculty of Law, were accepted by the Senate. They consist in the substitution of a fuller teaching of Hindu and Mahomedan Law for the somewhat superficial acquaintance with the Law of English Real Property previously required; and secondly, in the extension to two years of the period to be devoted to the study of Law after passing the B. A. Examination. The object of these changes

is this—to make the teaching of Law more real and thorough.

The Examination for Licentiates in Law has been abolished. The High Court now holds an examination which confers on those that pass it the same privileges which the University license did, and there remained no good reason for continuing our separate examination, at which moreover few candidates usually presented themselves, and which has never been found necessary either at Madras or Bombay.

The next subject to which I shall ask your attention is the result of the recent University Examinations. I shall not detain you on this occasion with elaborate statistics, but shall content myself with indicating briefly the general results and the conclusions at which they seem to point. There were 1905 candidates for Entrance, a number larger than has been reached in any previous year. Some of you may remember that not many years ago there was a considerable diminution in the number of candidates, in consequence of certain strict regulations enforced by the Senate with the view of preventing candidates who were clearly unfit from presenting themselves for examination. This check to the progress of the University has now been fully surmounted, while the percentage of successful candidates, which has reached to nearly 58, or 10 per cent. in excess of the

percentage of successful candidates last year, proves that the regulations to which I have alluded have had, at least to some extent, their intended effect.

Two other points may be noticed casually : The first is the greater success which has been achieved by students from the Upper Provinces. In the Entrance Examination their general position has been good, I may say exceedingly good. At the First Arts Examination, two students of the Lahore College, and one from the Delhi College, have been placed in the First Class. At the B. A. Examination, out of seven students in the First Class, two were from the Agra College, and one of these stood second in order of merit. At the Examination for Honors in English, two candidates from Queen's College, Benares, were successful. The next point is the greater prominence which the classical languages of India are gradually assuming as subjects of Examination ; and in connection with this matter, I may mention that Honors in Arabic for the first time appear in our class lists, and in this instance, too, the successful scholar comes from the North-Western Provinces.

The general conclusions to be drawn from the statistics seem to be, that the influence of the University is becoming from year to year more widely felt, and above all, that it is exerted to secure sound and accurate teaching. This

last object has been for years the leading purpose of the reforms initiated by the governing body of the University, and I do not think it possible to exaggerate its importance.

The Poet Hesiod describes man as divided into three classes—the man who thinks in all things for himself and does his best according to his convictions; next, the man who, though he does not think for himself, follows the counsels of those who teach aright; and lastly, the man who neither thinks for himself nor weighs the teaching of others. It may be said, that for the most part, this classification is as true now as when it was first made three thousand years ago; and I do not think that any one could define more accurately the function of what has been termed “high education,”—the class of education with which the University is more immediately concerned—than by saying that it consists in the training of the Poet’s first class. If this be so, surely it is of the first importance, I may say it is the one thing needful, that the class upon whom is to devolve the high task of thinking for their fellow countrymen, of acting as the leaders of public thought and opinion, should be taught, above all things, to think profoundly, to think accurately, to think honestly; and I am ready to confess, therefore, that if the University fails in this object, its seeming success is only superficial.

On the other hand, if we accept this definition of our object and keep it before our eyes, it will be comparatively easy to indicate not merely the policy which the University is bound to pursue, but the approximate limit of its immediate task.

The man of the Poet's first class—the man whom he styles *παραπαιστος* will never be too common anywhere. The stir and hurry of civilized life, is always unfavourable to the growth of a class of careful and single-minded thinkers. Indeed, the besetting danger of modern civilization probably arises from its material character, or at least from the prominence which it gives to material advantages. We, in India, are far from exempt from similar influences, and our utmost efforts will certainly not more than suffice for the creation of a thinking class proportionate in its extent to the true requirements of the country.

No doubt, the material advantages of high education particularly in India—will always supply incentives to its pursuit. This is only natural, but those who seek these advantages alone, or even mainly, can rarely claim high rank among that class of thinking men to whom the Poet awards the place of honour. And even to the extension of this secondary form of high education, there is a natural limit. Whatever the material advantages to which high education leads may be, their extent must always be determined

by the demand which the social condition of the country affords for education of that class. The matter must be ruled by the ordinary laws of competition, and, whenever the number of competitors is large the average success will be disappointing and the attractions of this class of education will diminish. I should hardly have deemed it necessary to dwell on so obvious a proposition, had not circumstances accidentally brought to my notice the extent to which erroneous ideas on the subject prevail. In the struggle for material success, Graduates of the University stand precisely on the same footing as other men, and they must recognize the fact that University success should be the earnest, not the substitute, of future exertion; it is neither reasonable nor possible that they should be exempted from competition. It is not reasonable because the training they have undergone ought to make them fitter for it than others; it is not possible because the stern necessities of life make it every day more imperative that those only should be selected for the opportunities and rewards of success who are best fitted, whether it be by University training or otherwise, to make the best use of them.

To return, however, from this digression: Enough has, perhaps, been said to show that there is a natural limit to the demand for high education, and in this sense to the direct action



of the University itself. It is not, however, to be inferred that we have reached that limit; indeed, I fear there is little chance of our reaching it within the cognizance of any one now living; but if it be once conceded that there is a natural limit to the province of high education, then the concession brings me to the conclusion at which I wish to arrive, which is this: There is much more to be done, beyond that limit, which must be done, and done mainly by some separate agency independent of the University. In other words, the University alone can never take the place of a complete system of national education; it must, indeed, ever form an essential part of such a system, must be the head and life of it, but it must be supplemented by something more. While it stands alone, it is like—if I may be allowed to reproduce an image to be found in the Arabian Nights—a head living, speaking, and thinking, attached to a body of stone; and to apply the general truth, and as India now is, even if the University ever succeeds in adequately supplying the first class of which the Poet speaks, there is still but little to represent even the next class; the class that is of intelligent men who, if they do not think for themselves, are yet content to follow right teaching; while the vast mass belonging to his third class, are those whom the Poet describes as neither thinking for themselves, nor able to appreciate the

teaching of others, and whom he justly stigmatizes as “unprofitable.”

If matters, however, in respect to this division of man have not much altered for the better in India, or perhaps anywhere since the Poet wrote, at least we now know at least one thing more. We know that there is no *necessity* for the existence of his third class at all, and that the absorption of this ignorant mass into the class above, that is into the class of those who have at least the intelligence to follow wise teaching is not only possible but practicable, nay more than this, that it is not only practicable, but that it will become sooner or later everywhere inevitable.

It is no new discovery that the strength of a State consists in the individual worth of its citizens. You to whom the well-known lines of Sir William James\*—so intimately connected with the literary traditions of Calcutta—must be familiar, should know at least this much ; but it has taken many centuries to show that it is practicable to raise the intellectual status of the mass of the people, and to ensure to each unit among them such training as shall transform him from an unthinking helot into an intelligent and useful citizen.

What the result of infusing such a measure of general intelligence among the mass of the

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\* Ode in imitation of Alceus.

people will be is not doubtful. If there be any lesson more plainly to be drawn than another from the late terrible war, it is that of the immeasurable importance to a state of this indefinite multiplication of individual intelligence of its citizens. It is not, perhaps, too much to say, that it is to their superiority in this respect that the victors in the late contest mainly owe their success ; this superiority has, indeed, been felt, in so many ways, that this is not the place nor the occasion fully to follow out the lesson ; but it may be learned even from their very military operations. It is their superiority in general training and intelligence which, as attested by all witnesses, has given spirit and vigor to their admirable military organization, and which has, indeed, it may be said, alone made that organization possible.

But this effect of the greater or lesser intelligence of the body of her citizens will be at least as surely felt by every State, in the honorable competitions of peace as in the hateful struggles of war. Beyond all question, within a very short cycle of years, the comparative rank and influence of nations will be mainly determined by the standard of intelligence among the body of their citizens ; and this truth once admitted, nations must obey its teaching : they must obey it, that is, under the penalty of losing their power,

their influence, nay, in a measure, their material prosperity.

As regards India, no doubt we have a task to accomplish of incomparably greater difficulty than elsewhere. The mass is greater, the ignorance more dense, the means of improvement far less ; but the task must be accomplished nevertheless ; and if those to whom the welfare of India is dear, desire to see her assume and maintain her proper place in the commonwealth of nations, it is not for them to act the part of sluggards, or to listen to the cry of “a lion in the way”.

Measures will, I hope, shortly be laid before the governing body of this University, the intention of which is to lend, as far as possible, the indirect aid of our influence and our machinery to the wider spread of general education, and I trust that these measures will effect some good.

Still, as I said before, that what has to be done must be done mainly by independent effort. I know that there are many among the educated natives of this country, among University Graduates, who have their country's interest sincerely at heart. If they really are in any measure what I have designated them, the leaders of thought and opinion among their fellow-countrymen, let me once again remind them, that this welfare mainly depends upon them,

and that they must lend the aid of their acquirements and their influence to the improvement of the intellectual status of the mass of their fellow-countrymen. All external efforts towards the desired end will effect but little, unless seconded from within, and whether those efforts from within are to be made or not, depends in no small degree on the influence which they exert on their countrymen. But those efforts must be made energetically and at once, unless they wish India to be passed by other countries with far less natural advantages, in the road to greatness and prosperity.

Gentlemen, it was but a few months ago, that your Senate assured the Royal Prince who visited this City, that the University was still in its infancy, yet, that in our belief, no institution of Western origin had taken so firm a root in the minds of the people of India.

I believe this to be strictly true ; but I fully admit that the question how far the growth of University institutions in this new soil has been sound and healthy, must be judged not by rank and showy luxuriance, but by the fruit produced ; by the character that is of the men whom year by year we send out, on what, as I have urged to-day, depends the advancement, in every respect, of the whole nation. It is the reality of our progress in this direction that must always be the criterion of our success.

At the same time I think that while we cannot too jealously watch the effect of our teaching, so, on the other hand, the direct influence of the University cannot be too widely extended ; it is impossible to overestimate the advantage of an uniform policy in the direction of education all over the country ; and of an uniform standard by which to measure its progress and to try its results, and it is for this reason that I hail, with especial pleasure, the signs that our University is year by year extending its influence to more distant territories, and I confess that I look with regret, I may say almost with dismay, upon any proposals to limit its influences, or to replace them by others of a narrower and more provincial growth.

I believe that our own system is capable of development in order to meet all local as well as national requirements, but even if it were otherwise, I do not think that the lesser should be allowed consideration to the detriment of the wider interest.

Believing, therefore, in the great capabilities for good which are inherent in the constitution of our University, I trust that these will, in the future, be permitted to attain their full natural development. If this be so, and the counsels of the University are animated by the same spirit which has hitherto guided it, I confidently believe that the success of the University will

assuredly become both wider and more sound and that it will continue, year by year, to establish further claims on the consideration of the people of India.

***The 16th March, 1872***

**The Hon'ble Mr. E. C. Bayley, C.S.I.**

*Vice-Chancellor.*

The results of the University Examinations just closed, show but in one respect a marked difference from those of last year's examinations. The number of candidates for the First Arts and for the Entrance Standards is nearly the same as last year, being 1,905 for the Entrance, and 540 for the First Arts, as against 1,902 and 507.

The percentage of failures is, however, far greater, being 60 per cent. in the Examination for Entrance against 43 per cent. of last year; while the First Arts Examination shows 61 per cent. of failures against 57 per cent. of 1870. I am assured that the character of the papers set in 1871 has not materially differed from that of past years; and we have, therefore, to look for the cause of the increased number of failures either in a falling off in the character of the teaching, or to a greater strictness in awarding marks.

As the results are pretty nearly the same among the candidates from all the several Provinces, and in both standards, I am inclined to attribute it to the latter cause. I observe



that the failures in History show by far the greatest increase, though those in English and Mathematics are also 50 per cent. more than last year. If I am right in my view of the cause of these failures, I think they are hardly to be regretted.

The results of the Bachelor of Arts Examination present no special feature beyond that of such a moderate increase in numbers both of candidates and of successful candidates, as was to be expected from the results of previous years' Examinations in the lower standards.

Out of the 25 candidates for Honours, three passed in the First Class, two in English, and one in Philosophy; the two former are this year both from Up-country Colleges, one from the Canning College, the other from the Delhi College.

The Examination in Law attracted a larger number of candidates than in any previous year; but out of 100 candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Law 21 only passed, of whom none were in the First Class.

On the whole, therefore, the University has, it may be said, during the past year, fully maintained its hold on the country, while it has done, at least, something towards the enforcement of a more thorough system of teaching everywhere, and with this result we may fairly be satisfied.

It is with great pleasure I announce that a number of Native gentlemen in grateful commemoration of the services rendered by Dr. F. J. Mouat to education in India, and more especially in regard to the establishment of this University, and to the advancement of medical education, have subscribed funds to provide for the annual presentation of a very handsome gold medal to be termed the Mouat Medal. This medal will be given annually to the Premchand Scholar of the year. I am sure you will be glad to hear this well-merited recognition of the zealous services of one so long and so favourably known among us—a recognition honourable alike to him who is its object and to those who make it.

I have one word also to say on another matter of some interest to the University. The speedy completion of the University building has been so frequently promised by successive Vice-Chancellors in their annual speeches, that I feel considerable hesitation in again alluding to it. So far, however, as I am able to judge, I do think that there is now a fair hope that our next convocation may be held in a hall of our own.

Turning from the present to the measures prepared for the future, I have to ask your attention to some points of immense importance in the action taken by the University during the past year.

When I last addressed you after dwelling on the urgent necessity of a wider diffusion of education among the masses of the people, I expressed a hope that measures would shortly be laid before our governing body, the intention of which would be to employ as far as possible for the attainment of this great object the machinery and influence of the University.

Those measures are now complete, and will, I trust, ere another convocation comes round, be in active operation.

Briefly, it may be said that the machinery of the University will be employed in conducting an annual examination which is fitted for the students of the minor class of schools, and for those classes in the next higher grade of schools, in which instruction is conveyed solely through the medium of the local Vernacular languages. The subjects of examination will be, especially at first, of the very simplest character. An adequate grammatical knowledge of their mother tongue will be required from all students, this, with a fair knowledge of Arithmetic, and an elementary knowledge of Algebra, Geometry, History and Geography will be compulsory; but certain somewhat higher subjects will be open optionally to those candidates who may be desirous of being examined in them.

The plan is avowedly experimental and may need even at the outset more or less modification. Indeed, if it succeeds, as I am induced to hope that it will, by the anticipations of those best qualified to judge, I think it must give an impetus to vernacular education and an encouragement to the very large and important class of indigenous schools already existing, while I trust it will be also the means of improving the character of the instruction which these last now impart; and, if these results be attained, they will inevitably necessitate some further extension of the scheme, and some raising of the standard at which it aims. Meanwhile it is for the University and for the Local Governments to watch over this most valuable and important experiment. Should it prove, as I gladly anticipate that it will, a full success, I believe that it will effect at least as much, as anything which the University has yet accomplished, for the real welfare of India.

Another measure of very grave importance is now, also after very long and anxious discussion, nearly ripe for decision.

It is one which trenches on the great controversy which has occupied for many years the attention of some of the ablest of living scholars, *viz.*, the proper place which the teaching of the physical sciences should occupy in the educational system.

This is, indeed, a controversy, which, as it has been conducted, touches all the primary axioms upon which existing schemes of education have been formed.

Without, however, attempting to decide the abstract questions involved in the discussion, the Syndicate of the University and the Faculty of Arts have found themselves called upon to solve some of the practical problems connected with it, which the requirements of the country have urgently forced upon their attention. We do not deny, on the one hand, the superior merit of what may be termed a purely literary training ; while, on the other hand, we fully admit that the study of the physical sciences may also, in many respects, be made subservient to a very excellent mental training.

The broad facts on which we have been obliged to act are these :—I may remind you that on the first time which I had the honor of addressing you in this place, I called attention to the enormous field which India offered for the study, and for the practical pursuit and application of the physical sciences. In the brief period which has since elapsed, the necessity for providing, in the interest of the material advancement of the country, some greater encouragement to the study of these sciences has become so self-evident, indeed so pressing, that the governing body of the University has considered it their duty

at once to recognise it. In the second place the advancing conditions of many of the physical sciences demand from those who seek to study them exhaustively a certain amount of what I may call, for want of a better expression, technical skill—a skill which is rarely to be acquired save by early training.

What it is proposed therefore to do is, I may briefly say, to follow the example of our leading English Universities, and to provide in the First Arts Examination and in that for the Bachelor of Arts Degree a series of optional standards, which, while they maintain a certain proportion of compulsory literary training in all cases, yet afford an ample opening for the pursuit of the various branches of physical sciences.

This course, both in principle and in its details, will, I am well aware, be open to attack by critics of extreme views on either side. The substantive reply to these criticisms is, however, simply that we pretend to decide no controversy and to seek no merely theoretical perfection; our scheme is intended to acknowledge what is palpably a requirement of the country in respect to education, and to meet it as far as the means at our command permit. To illustrate my meaning more clearly, I may mention that it has been very warmly debated whether similar optional standards should not be provided for the Entrance Examination, as

well as for the two next higher Examinations. The expediency of doing this has been urged by those who think that technical training of some sort cannot be begun too early, or be too widely diffused. On the other hand, it has been strongly argued that such a step could not be taken without sacrificing too largely the wider mental training afforded by a more purely literary course of teaching.

But the Syndicate and Senate will not be called upon to decide between these contending opinions, for in reality the practical solution of the question has depended on the means of affording to the schools and classes which prepare students for the Entrance Examination, the necessary teaching in Physical Science. It is clearly needless to discuss whether education of this class should be given or withheld, until at least it has been ascertained whether it is physically possible to give it, and the better opinion seems distinctly to be, that even in Lower Bengal there are simply no means of doing this for the present.

One other change of some importance has also been nearly consummated during the past year, to the history of which I will briefly draw your attention. This is the addition of Persian to the list of the languages recognised by the University as "Classical." Some of those who hear me may probably remember that this proposal

has been more than once strongly supported in the Council of the University. The immediate occasion, however, of re-opening the question was the receipt by the University of a resolution of Government, asking for their assistance in encouraging the spread of education among the Mahomedan portion of the community. Acknowledging the wisdom of the policy enunciated in that resolution, the Syndicate and Senate felt that they could not forward it more effectually than by giving greater encouragement than hitherto to the study of Persian,—a measure capable also of support with reference to the inherent merits of that language itself.

The alteration has already been affirmed by the Senate, and will, I trust, in a few days, be completed by the publication of standards for the examinations of the current year.

I have thought it necessary to detain you with this exposition of the reasons which have led the University to adopt these varied schemes, because I am aware that such great and constitutional reforms require explanation, I may almost say apology. Changes, I admit, in a matter so directly affecting the intellectual welfare of the nation as our University system, are much to be deprecated, and it cannot be denied that the changes just announced are both wide and important, I am sure, however, that they have not been hasty or unconsidered. Not one of the



three measures which I have just described but has been discussed in various shapes and from different points of view for years before its final adoption. Indeed, as regards the admission of Physical Science into our examination scheme, its ultimate necessity was, I may remind you, foretold not long since by the Vice-Chancellor, whose connection with the University has been longest and most intimate, while yet deprecating, as far as possible, all changes, as breaks in the continuity of University history, and interruptions in the intellectual pedigree of our graduates.

In truth the main apology for our action is that, while the need of an University system for India was early visible, the circumstances to which it had to be fitted were so little known, and their future could be so little foretold, that it was impossible to adopt absolutely any existing model, or to frame beforehand a scheme which would not eventually demand large modifications. It has been the task of the Senate, while keeping in view the leading principles on which the University was founded, to adapt it from time to time to the rapidly developing requirements of this country. It would ill become them to be withheld from real and pressing reforms by the fear of being thought unnecessarily given to change.

I have now to turn to a part of my subject of which I have purposely reserved all mention

until the last. Indeed I feel myself not only unequal to dealing with it appropriately, but scarcely able to deal with it at all.

Within the last few months there have passed from among us three of the most prominent of our governing body, whose loss must, under any circumstances, have been felt as a grievous calamity. Archdeacon Pratt, a brilliant ornament of his own English University, in the spirit of the purest self-sacrifice, dedicated his talents and his life to the service of India, willingly foregoing in that service the prospect of a distinguished career at home. What he has accomplished, indeed, for India generally, and for science, will long be gratefully felt. It is for us to regret the loss of one of the earliest and the most eminent and the most respected of our members.

But if we mourn for him who has passed away from us full of years and full of honor, it is difficult even to speak of the two invaluable lives which the hand of the assassin has cut short in the height of their vigour and success.

I address many who knew intimately the impartiality, courage, and ability of the late Mr. Justice Norman in the discharge of his public duty, the tender humanity of his private life. I am sure that they will feel as I do that I am scarcely competent to give any adequate description of his worth. But having had

the high honor of serving with him on the governing body of this University, I should not do my duty if I did not on this occasion bear testimony to the disinterested zeal with which he always worked in the cause of education. Indeed, his very last labours in life were, I need hardly say, given to promote the special cause of Mahomedan education ; still, eminent as was his public ability, great as were his public services, and although these were rewarded by high position and professional honour, I may, perhaps, be pardoned for saying that what most prominently distinguished the late Mr. Norman, that by which his memory will most worthily live among us, was his unswerving rectitude. To employ words applied to another eminent lawyer,—“He sought dignity not from the ermine and the mace, but from a straight path and a spotless life.”

There remains to me still the task—the last and saddest of all—of reminding you of the frightful calamity by which, within the past few weeks, this University has been deprived of its noble and respected Chancellor. It was once appropriately said here, on a somewhat similar occasion, “this is not the place for the show of mere private sorrow. But when private sorrow does but intensify our sense of a public calamity, and notably a calamity to this University, we do well on such an occasion as this again publicly

to deplore our loss, and openly to manifest the grief that fills us."

Nevertheless, gentlemen, it would be more than superfluous if I attempted to bring before you the many general considerations which the fearful crime at Port Blair naturally suggests. The echoes are scarcely silent of the addresses which only a few days ago, within these walls, gave expression to the manifestly sincere and deep feelings of the entire community.

I cannot pretend to go beyond, or to add to these; but it is, I think, only befitting this place and this occasion that I should dwell for a little space on the significance of Lord Mayo's connection with this University, and I trust that you will give me your attention, while I endeavour, however imperfectly, to do justice to it.

Warmly interested in the general cause of education and in its extension in the widest possible manner to all classes of the community, Lord Mayo took especial interest in the success of higher class education, particularly as it is represented by this University. It was almost his first public act, after his assumption of office in 1869, to attend and to address the convocation of that year; and it was his wish, if he had been spared to do so, to take the opportunity of this very meeting to explain publicly and broadly the views which the Government of India

entertained on the subject of high English education—views which he felt had been unjustly interpreted and very widely misunderstood. How valuable such an authoritative exposition of the policy of Government would have been, those know best who knew how catholic, how wise, how prudent were his counsels, how firm and just his acts.

But, while thus indicating his desire publicly to identify himself with the action of the University, I may be permitted to add that his interest was not limited to public occasions, but that almost every great question which during his period of office has come under the consideration of the Syndicate, was privately discussed and considered by him. Except its great founder, Lord Canning, I am sure that no Chancellor has taken so earnest an interest in the welfare of the University as Lord Mayo.

I need scarcely say, however, that his attention was not confined to one class, or to one form of education alone. It is not possible to do full justice to-day even to this portion of the late Viceroy's policy; but I may, perhaps, be allowed to refer to one particular instance which now unfortunately possesses a peculiar significance.

In regard to the special question of the encouragement of education among the Mahomedan community, it is, I believe, generally

known that Lord Mayo took the most active and leading part. It is, perhaps, no longer any breach of confidence to say that he himself first drew attention to this subject, and that the resolution of Government in which it was recently discussed, and to which I have already alluded, proceeded word for word from his pen ; nor need I, perhaps, hesitate to add that in other more general measures intended for the benefit of the Mahomedans, he took an equal interest, and that this portion of the community have lost in him not only a powerful, but a most sincere friend.

The one consolatory reflection which remains to us is, that such an example and its influences cannot wholly die. I am sure I may aver with a confident belief, that not even the terrible catastrophe which cut short Lord Mayo's career, will be permitted to interrupt his benevolent intentions. I am sure that those who have enjoyed the privilege of his confidence, are far beyond any motives arising out of the cruel act which took him from among them ; that they will consider it their highest duty to follow in his footsteps ; and that they would deem themselves unworthy of his leadership, unworthy of the authority which they wield, unworthy of the country which they represent, if they were led by any feeling whatever to deviate one iota to the right hand or the left from the generous policy which it was Lord Mayo's glory to initiate.

*The 12th March, 1873*

The Hon'ble Mr. E. C. Bayley, C.S.I.

*Vice-Chancellor*

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

In to-day entering into possession of the noble hall in which we are assembled, the University of Calcutta enters also, it may be said, upon a new epoch in its career; and this may justify me in briefly calling attention to the position which it has already attained.

It was in the midst of the chief struggles of 1857 that the Government of India created the University of Calcutta, and gave to it, by the sanction of law, an independent and corporate existence. That work has now been completed by the liberal gift of this building which will hereafter constitute its local home and its visible embodiment.

Our institution showed from its birth a vigorous nature, but its progress may best be understood by a comparison of its earliest statistics with those of to-day. In 1858 there were 464 candidates for Entrance, of whom 111 passed. In the year 1872 there were 2144, of whom 938 passed. There were then 20 candidates for the Bachelor of Arts Degree, of whom 10 passed. This year there were 242, of whom 126 passed.

In 1858 there were 19 candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine, of whom 11 passed. This year there were 137, of whom 75 passed.

If these statistics show a rapid advance, they do also, I trust, represent a growth essentially healthy and sound. It has been my task, at previous convocations, repeatedly to assure you that the close attention of governing bodies of the University has been ever given to secure solid rather than brilliant results.

And the statistics of the late examination do again, I think, testify that our efforts have not been wholly ineffectual. In all the examinations save two, not only have the candidates been more numerous, but the percentages of success have been better. In those two cases a slight falling off indicates probably the need of minor alterations in the regulations of the University, which are already in part under the consideration of the Syndicate. In all other respects the results of the examinations have been very satisfactory, and I may especially notice that, large as the number is of those to whom this year the University has opened the door of the legal profession, the Examiners assure us that they have merited this success by more than average attainments; and of the student who has carried off the highest honours in the Faculty of Law this year, as well as of the gentleman who heads our Mathematical List, I



have authority for saying that their attainments and the ability they have displayed are at least equal to those shown by the very best of their predecessors. I need hardly assure you that this is no mean praise, and I trust that their success may be to these gentlemen themselves, as well as to the University, the earnest of yet greater triumphs.

Defects, no doubt, still exist in our system, some of them for the present unavoidable; but at least I think that I may fairly say, a tradition has already taken root in the University which will, I hope, lead it always to insist, as far as it has any power, on sound and solid teaching rather than on results of temporary brilliancy.

I have but little to add to the statistics above given in regard to the history of the University during the past year.

Happily, we have not on this occasion to mourn such losses as cast a gloom over our last convocation, and I most sincerely trust that the walls of this building will never echo the expressions of sorrow, deep and poignant, such as those to which it was my sad duty to give utterance, on behalf of our University, last year.

On the other hand, I have the pleasure to announce another gift to the University. The committee of the fund for erecting a memorial to the late Raja Radhakant Deb have determined to make over to the University the balance

of that fund, in order to furnish an endowment for an annual gold medal to be given to the best Sanskrit scholar proceeding to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts.

You will, I am sure, feel that this endowment is a very appropriate method of perpetuating the memory of one who, while he lived, was not only a scholar himself, but a liberal patron of scholarship in others.

For the rest, the governing bodies of the University have been chiefly occupied in maturing the reforms which have been already commenced.

The rapid progress of education, both in India and elsewhere, no doubt, continually bring us face to face with problems of great importance and difficulty. Some of these are now under consideration ; but I think I may assure you that no recommendation for any further changes will be made to the Senate at large without due regard to the conservation of that continuity of tradition which, as has been more than once impressed upon you at previous convocations, is essential to the influence of the University for good. .

It is indeed, I believe, the possibility of maintaining great principles and independent traditions which constitutes the value of that corporate character which was given to us by the Charter of 1857. If we are to accept the

authority of one of the greatest living leaders of human thought—the present Rector of Munich University—this is a truth which has been proved by history. In a recent address at the jubilee festival of that institution, he maintains that it was precisely their corporate character which gave to certain of the German Universities, during the middle ages, their chief value over similar institutions elsewhere. No doubt, as he proceeded to show, the munificence of Princes or the brilliancy of particular teachers gave occasionally greater transient success to other Universities ; but it was a corporate existence alone which rendered possible resistance on the one hand to despotic authority, or to popular demands on the other, and which made these institutions the home of men who were “the priests of science, the aim of whose life was the propagation of civilization and enquiry, and the advancement of human learning,” rather than the resort of mere “practical self-interested men, who, for hard gold, turned out physicians and men of business, and taught men how to administer physic and to win law suits.”

I feel assured that the great function which Indian Universities are at present called upon to perform, is the maintenance of an uniform and well-judged system of education, not merely as an instructing, but as a civilizing and elevating agency. I trust, therefore, that to-day's event,

the consummation, if I may so call it, of its corporate existence, may be for the Calcutta University the pledge and the beginning of a career of yet wider and more independent usefulness.

*The 12th March, 1873*

The Right Hon'ble Thomas George Baring  
Baron Northbrook, P.C.

*Chancellor.*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, FELLOWS, AND MEMBERS  
OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,

It is to me a great pleasure that it should have fallen to my lot to assist at the first Convocation at which the desire entertained by Lord Canning, under whose care this University sprang into existence, has been realised, and that a local habitation should be found for it in this spacious and indeed stately building, to use the words of the Senate, when they recommended the Government of India to supply a building for the University. I feel, too, a personal interest in this University, which I may be permitted to explain to you. I was associated in a subordinate capacity with Lord Halifax, the statesman to whom India owes the despatch which laid down the principles upon which the Universities have been founded as well as upon which the whole educational system of the country depends. Bound as I am to Lord Halifax by feelings not merely of political association, but of sincere personal affection, it is to me, I

can assure you a matter of the greatest pleasure to see in the opening of this hall, and in the records of this University, so conclusive a testimony to the wisdom of the measures which he was instrumental in inaugurating. To establish in this country, where there are so many different races and different religions, a system of education which could unite them all in furthering the great object of the enlightenment and advancement of their fellow-countrymen, was, I think you will admit, a task of more than ordinary difficulty. At this moment a difficulty has arisen in the House of Commons of England upon a question of education of a far simpler character. Dealing, as the Parliament is now dealing, with the question of education in Ireland, the difficulties and distinctions are far less than the difficulties and distinctions that exist in India; and yet whereas there appears to be some temporary check to the inauguration of a University system for Ireland, here in this country, we see, after the lapse of 20 years, a University system established, which appears to rest upon the sound and solid basis of the hearty co-operation of all races, of all classes and of all distinctions of religious belief in this great land. I say that this University system in India has been a success. I need only appeal to the statistics which the Vice-Chancellor has read to you to-day comparing the numbers of those who

attended at the Entrance Examination in the year 1857 with those who came up for the Entrance Examination last year, and again, of those who obtained the distinction of a degree in those two years. But the mere figures by no means represent the importance of the advance which has taken place in these 20 years. For whereas, unless I am mistaken, in the year 1857, out of the hundred or more candidates who succeeded in passing the Entrance Examination, there was not one man who did not come from the Lower Provinces of Bengal, in this last year, out of the numbers who have attended for that examination, not only have we from the distant Punjab a very considerable number of successful students, but Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, whose encouragement of education in all its branches I cannot omit to notice when I mention his name—Sir William Muir has been able at a recent meeting, in the North-Western Provinces, to notice that from the North-West College of Bareilly a student has passed first among the whole of those who went up for the Entrance Examination of last year. So that we may, I think, conclude that the Calcutta University has been able to extend its influence and encouragement to education throughout by no means the most unimportant or the smallest part of Her Majesty's Indian

territories. For this success, after sound principles had once been established, I believe we are indebted for the most part to the labours of the Vice-Chancellors, of the members of the Syndicate, and of the different Faculties, who together constitute the governing body of this University. It is to their attention to the business of the University, notwithstanding the arduous duties of other kinds which they have had to perform, that the success of the University is, in my opinion, most to be attributed ; and I heartily concur with the Vice-Chancellor that the existence of an independent body for the purpose of preserving the principles—traditions, if you will—of a University, is a great element of strength and stability. It is impossible for me to speak with any pretence to authority upon the many questions which have been raised from time to time in connection with University education in India. To do so, it would be necessary to master the languages of the country, to have a thorough knowledge of its literature, both ancient and modern, of its schools of philosophy, which, we are told, equal, if they do not excel, the acutest intellectual efforts of Greece or Rome ; and in addition it would be necessary to have a complete knowledge of the social and political condition of the country, and of the aspirations of those of our young friends to whom, to-day, the Vice-Chancellor has given diplomas of different



ranks which their industry and perseverance have gained for them. I can pretend to no such knowledge as this ; but still I think it was a right act of the Legislature that the representative, for the time being, of Her Majesty in this country, should be associated with the principal University in India for the purpose of showing to the world that although the constitution of the University is an independent constitution, yet it acts with the support of the Government of India, and that the Government, as represented by the Viceroy, is interested and associated with all the acts of the Senate. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen, if I proceed to make some observations upon a few of the questions which relate to University education in this part of India, I beg that my remarks will be taken by no means as if I ventured to give any authoritative and positive opinion upon the questions to which I may allude, but simply as the expression of the views which occur to me from what little knowledge and experience I have gained since I have been in India, upon those questions. One thing I may say, that since I have been in this country, I have endeavoured to lose no opportunity of acquiring information with respect to the condition and prospects of education, both high and low, in all those parts of India which I have visited.

Of the questions relating to the University, perhaps the one which is most constantly brought forward is, what is the scope and object of the University? It is held by some that the University is simply a body entrusted with the power of examination of students, and of conferring degrees as a proof of the knowledge which those students have acquired. Others hold that the functions of the University should extend still further, that, connected with the University, there should be Professorships, and that Professors of the higher branches of literature and science should give lectures at which the members of every Institution, who might be within call, should be able to attend.

Now, it seems to me that the principle of this question, which has been discussed by the University now for a considerable number of years, the first notice of it being so far back as in the year 1858, has already been decided in consequence of a munificent bequest by a distinguished native gentleman of this country, from which has arisen the establishment and endowment of the Tagore Professorship of Law. Therefore, as regards the principle, we have in existence a Professorship connected with the University. And it appears to me that the view taken by the Senate of the University in the year 1861 was a sound one, namely, that there could be no more judicious, more liberal, or more

patriotic manner of devoting the funds of those who are able to contribute to the support of education in India, than the endowment of certain Professorships, for example, of comparative philology, of the higher branches of grammar, and of some branches of Physical Science, such for example as were suggested by the University at that time. The difficulty raised then was, whether the actual words of the Act of the Legislature justified the University in having any control over Professorships. That, I think, has now been settled, as I observed before, by the fact that the Tagore Professorship is at the present time under the control and management of the Senate of the University. Intimately connected with the establishment of University Professorships, is the question, what is to be the policy of Government ultimately with regard to the higher education which is now carried on mainly through the instrumentality of Government Colleges. This is a question which, as you know, has been discussed elsewhere at some length. But there can be no doubt, that the establishment of Professorships would have the effect of disassociating Government, as a Government, from high English education in Calcutta more than is at present the case, because, by the establishment of Professorships, young men from all Colleges would be enabled to attend, and would have the advantage

of the best Professors who could be obtained in this country, and thus the maintenance of a portion, at any rate, of the able staff of Professors now employed in the Presidency College would become unnecessary.

Now, with respect to the connection of Government with high English education in India, the Government of India have no new policy to proclaim. They are simply acting as they have all along acted according to the policy of the despatch of 1854. The policy was that, on principle, it would be desirable to see education in India placed upon such a firm and satisfactory foundation as no longer to require the active interference and interposition of Government; but at the same time that despatch went on to inculcate a principle which, I am sure, has been completely carried out by the Government of India, from that day to this, namely, that any alteration of the kind should be introduced in such a manner, and with such caution as in no way to risk the success of any educational institution of this country. Now, the condition of education in this city appears to me to afford a hope that the day may not be far distant when these anticipations may be realised, that education may be left more to the private enterprize and energy of Her Majesty's subjects. For what do we find now in Calcutta in respect to English education? We find that at this day the whole

of that education up to the Entrance Examination for the University is self-supporting. We find that in the Government Schools, in the Hindu and Hare Schools, where that education is carried on, these schools are not only self-supporting, but as His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal mentioned the other day, the Hare School has been so successful as to be able to erect out of its surplus funds the substantial and suitable building in which it is now located. And if we turn to the private establishment of different kinds in which education up to the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University is conducted, the figures are to me most striking. I believe that at the last Entrance Examination of the University there were 614 candidates from Calcutta and its neighbourhood. Out of these 614 candidates, 186 came from Government schools, and 428 from other schools in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. I think I may say that, with but few exceptions, the whole of these schools are supported by the fees which are obtained from the students ~~who are~~ therein educated. I will mention three of these institutions—the Oriental Seminary with 336 students, the Calcutta School with 537 students, and the Metropolitan Institution with 796 students, all of which institutions, to the best of my knowledge, belief and information, are supported by the fees which are paid by the students who

are educated within them. Well, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, these figures certainly do give an encouragement and belief that English education in this city and in this neighbourhood is in a most flourishing condition, and that it has acquired a firm hold upon the people. And I may mention, that one of the most hopeful signs for the future is, that last year one of those institutions, the Metropolitan Institution, was affiliated to the University up to the First Arts Examination. It therefore seems to me to be probable that, at no very distant date, it may be in the power of those who may then administer the Government of this country to carry out the principles which were shadowed forth by the Educational Despatch of 1854, and at the same time maintain the qualifications accompanied by which those principles were asserted, namely, that they must be carried out without any risk to the high English education in this country, which it is the object and the desire of Government to encourage to the best of its power.

I confess, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that it would be very agreeable to my feelings and principles if high English education were placed in the hands of institutions unconnected with Government. I cannot help feeling the great difficulties which have been placed in the way of education in India, by the necessity under which

the Government has been obliged to disassociate it altogether from any religious instruction. I cannot but feel that the adoption, if ever it can be adopted, of the system which was shadowed forth in 1854, will get rid of the difficulty which Bishop Cotton—a most liberal-minded man and a very high authority upon all education questions—said pressed upon him in India, as I am sure it has pressed upon many of the most earnest supporters of education to whatever religious persuasion they may belong.

There are one or two other questions to which I will advert with great brevity, although questions of considerable importance, with which, as the Vice-Chancellor has told you, the Senate will have to occupy themselves.

Great and important alterations have recently been made with respect to the University Course. An optional course of study, has been introduced for the higher degree which, I believe, will be found to supply a want which had for some time, been recognised.

There is another matter of importance which has upon several occasions been brought to the notice of the Senate, namely, the necessity of, in some way, recognizing the education which is acquired by means of the Oriental and the distinction which is attained by many men in Oriental languages who could not perhaps comply with the full requirements of the

University course. It has been suggested that it would be a great advantage if some University distinction could be conferred upon those who are so situated. That appears to me a subject of great importance, for who could not fail to be struck with and to regret the absence to-day, with but few exceptions, of any of our Mussulman fellow-countrymen among those upon whom the Vice-Chancellor has conferred University degrees. The subject of the adaptation of the University system and of the Government educational system to the Mussulman population of India has been under the consideration of the Government and of the Senate, and it is possible that some such proposal as that which has been made from different parts of India might supply the want, and bring more into harmony with our educational system that large and important portion of our fellow-countrymen.

There is another point to which I would advert for a moment, namely, the great importance of the University in respect to the development of Vernacular literature in India. There was a very interesting report published of the Indian Section of the Educational Exhibition of 1870 by Dr. George Smith, one of the Members of the Senate of the University. In that report, which was prepared both from his own knowledge, and with the advantage of the assistance of Mr. Marshman, who possesses a



hereditary interest in the success of the Vernacular literature of India, Dr. Smith shows the progress which has been made, to a considerable extent through the action of the University, in the Vernacular literature of Bengal. I think, however, we ought not to be satisfied with the progress that has been already made, but should wish that the attention of the Senate should continue to be directed to the development of the Vernacular literature of Bengal and of other parts of India which are under the influence of the University.

There is another question which, I believe, is now under the consideration of the Senate, or, at any rate, of some of the Faculties, one which appears to be a small one, but still one of great importance, namely, the nature of the class books which are recommended for the University course, and the manner in which the University Examinations are carried out. It seems to me that the Senate has taken a wise course in making alterations with respect to the Examination for Entrance into the University by deciding that the Examination should not be in any particular books, but should be more general, and should require a general knowledge of the English language up to a certain standard, rather than minute knowledge of any particular books. The reason why it seems to me that the University has taken a wise course

in that particular is that, upon several occasions when I have visited schools in different parts of India, I have been struck with the manner in which probably on account of the examinations having been confined hitherto to particular books, instruction has been conveyed to those who are preparing for the Entrance Examination. There has, in common parlance, been too much of 'cram' in respect to their education; that is to say, there has been too much getting by heart of the Professor's notes, and explanations of different classical allusions, which, though they might be interesting to any one who has attained a sufficient amount of knowledge of the English language, is for a beginner, as it appears to me, not the most useful way of occupying his time during that portion of his education. Therefore, I think, the scheme under which the Entrance Examination will in future require a general knowledge of English tested by the power of translating from the Vernacular language of the student into the English language, than which no test can be better, will be a great and a beneficial alteration in the University course. I need hardly remind my friend, the Vice-Chancellor, that it is not only to those youths who come up for the Entrance Examination that the effect of the University system extends; for if the University requires a particular class of

knowledge, it will produce, over all the schools throughout the whole of the area subject to the University, an influence for good or evil on the whole tone and spirit of English education. I wish, and saying this, not to be supposed for a moment to depreciate by calling it 'cram' that knowledge which is required in the higher examinations in English. What, to my mind, is not advantageous for the lower examination may be necessary and right for the higher examinations. Take, for example, the Entrance Examination. What do you want to know? You want to find out whether the youth has that amount of knowledge in the English language which will enable him to pursue his education with advantage. Take again the First Arts Examination. In that you want to find out that the youth has advanced to a higher general knowledge of the English language. When you advance to the Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts Examinations, you ask for something more. You ask whether the young man has not only such a knowledge of the English language as that he can speak and write English intelligibly, but you require, for a University degree, that the young man should show that he possesses a real and sound knowledge of English literature, and you therefore expect him to explain the allusions that are contained in the principal English authors. It is necessary, then,

that that knowledge should be gained by him which may be learned from the Professor's notes or in other ways, but in whatever way it is gained, it is solid knowledge, and it is not open to the objection, to which it is, in my opinion, justly open, when it is applied in an earlier stage of education in the English or any other language.

Now Sir, as I said before, I have alluded to these questions for the purpose partly of showing that I take a sincere interest in the problems which have occupied the time of my friend the Vice-Chancellor and the members of the University for many years; and also of expressing my belief that these questions will be dealt with as other questions have hitherto been, with care, with impartiality, and with a desire to do that which is best for the whole education of the country, by the Senate, the Syndicate, and the different Faculties of the University; because in perusing, as I have with great pleasure done, the discussions of the members of the University upon the questions which have come before them, I have found that there has always been a desire to weigh with care all the different opinions which are held by those who have taken a part in education, and whose opinions are deserving of attention; and by mutual concessions, and a cordial desire on the part of all to do what is right for the success of education, they

have, I think, come to conclusions which have been accepted generally by those interested in education.

When last an assembly of this kind was addressed by one of my predecessors in the office of Viceroy, it was addressed by Lord Mayo, and Lord Mayo's opinion on this subject, as usual, showed that he had rightly grasped the principal features of the policy of Government, and that he embraced the policy in a generous and a large-minded spirit. Nothing can be large-minded and more generous than the words used by Lord Mayo when he addressed this University and said that "whatever might be the effect of the spread of education in India, education was a chief duty of the Government, and that the Government went forward in their work without any hesitation."

I have said that it would be bold indeed in me to venture to give an authoritative opinion on the effects of the spread of education in India. I doubt whether any of those present here, however earnest they may be in the cause, could venture to prophesy what the effects of the spread of education in India may eventually be. All I can say is that, although we have certainly achieved some amount of success,—although perhaps it may be supposed to be something that since the year 1854 from 500 schools and colleges in connection with the Department of

Education, with 43,500 pupils, we have now advanced to 37,000 Schools of different kinds with nearly a million and a quarter of pupils—although this may be something achieved, I hope we shall never forget that that million and a quarter represents, I am ashamed to say how small a part, certainly not a tenth part, making allowance for all the private education, of the demand for education in this country. I say, that while we welcome the success which has attended what has been done, we see before us a task far more gigantic and one which will require all the wisdom and all the energy of the Government of many future generations in India to achieve. I will only add on this subject that I look upon it as perfectly hopeless that the Government alone can achieve so gigantic a task, and I believe it is only to be accomplished by the efforts of the people themselves aided and encouraged by Government, both by inspection and advice, and also by assistance from the public fund ; it is only, I say, by some such means as these, and not by any direct system of Government education, that success can ever be obtained.

I am sorry that I have occupied the time of this meeting at greater length than I at first intended, but the subject is one which commands my greatest sympathy, and I therefore thought it desirable to notice those particular points of it which have come under my individual attention.

It has been usual upon these occasions that he who occupies the position which I have the honour to fill to-day, should address a few words to those students who have received their University diplomas before breaking up the assembly. I would say to them that they have my most cordial good wishes for the success of their future careers. The Vice-Chancellor has said, and said, I believe, with perfect truth, that those who have ruled the University of Calcutta have endeavoured rather to place education upon a solid and secure basis, than to look principally to the ornaments of an educational course. I believe that what they have endeavoured to do is to supply a complete and solid foundation to the future education of those who pass through the University. There, I think, we shall all agree that the University authorities have exercised a wise and right discretion. It is only in the Poet's dream of a golden age that we meet with great results without a solid foundation; and I believe, that those who have achieved success in the University, and have obtained their degrees, of whatever class they may be, will find in after-life that perhaps the greatest benefit they have received from their University education will not be in the actual acquisition of knowledge which they have gained from particular books that they have read and mastered, but in being able hereafter in the business of

life, when they have to grapple with subjects of real difficulty, to know what really mastering and understanding a subject means, to know what it means to have your knowledge tested by examination, to find how little you know of a subject unless you bring it to such a test. Hence, you should require of yourselves a more complete, accurate and conscientious knowledge of the subjects you may have to deal with in life than you would be likely to have thought necessary without the educational training of the University.

I need not enlarge upon what has been said so often that the education of a man begins instead of ends with his University career, and that it will require all the perseverance, self-sacrifice and industry which have brought you to success up to the present time if you expect to succeed during the rest of your lives. I know and appreciate fully the difficulties which many of the educated men in India have to meet with in regard to the professions which they have to choose in after-life. I know how difficult it is for some to embrace a profession in which they have a prospect of rising to positions of honour and emolument, such as lie within the reach of many men in England. Now, in respect to that, I must say that I think that the spread of education will, to a considerable extent, remedy the evil which now exists. I cannot help noticing



in this country how some professions, which in England are filled by some of the ablest men of the higher ranks of society, appear in India not to be looked to as professions in which educated men and graduates of the University can properly be employed. I look to the fine arts, and I look to commerce, in which a large portion of the educated men in England obtain their positions in life, and I see that in India those professions are not valued so much as they should be by those who have gone through a University course. I, however, look forward to the time, which in this city at any rate is rapidly approaching, when the customs which at present prevent educated men of the higher ranks of society from entering such professions will be regarded as things of the past. I shall be glad to see in this country, artists such as Sir Francis Grant, the President of the Royal Academy of Arts in England, one of the best of our painters of portraits—who is the distinguished brother of Sir Hope Grant, who was Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army—and politicians such as Mr. Goschen, who from commercial pursuits in England, attained the high distinction of representing the city of London in Parliament, and who now holds one of the highest offices in the cabinet. I should like to see educated men of this country taking high positions both in arts and in commerce, and by

their practical ability in the professions which they choose, giving the best proof of their capacity to manage public affairs, should the opportunity offer for such employment.

I said the other day, in answer to a deputation of the British Indian Association of Bombay, that it appeared to me that a competitive examination held in India was not the best method of obtaining young men for the public service in this country. My remarks were not meant to refer to the competitive examination which is held in England for admission to the Civil Service, to which competitive examination all the subjects of Her Majesty, of whatever race they may be, or wherever they may be born, are by law eligible to be admitted. My remarks were directed to the question which is now before the Government of India, namely, in what manner the admission of natives of India into appointments which used to be confined to members of the Civil Service, but which have been opened to the natives by a recent Act of Parliament, can be best carried out. I said then, as I say now, that I do not think that this object can be best attained by means of competitive examinations in India. I have noticed that what I said at Bombay has been alluded to in a manner which does not correctly give the opinion which I then expressed ; and I mention this subject now, to say here, in addressing as I do those who

probably are as interested, if not more interested, in the question than any others in this city, that the subject is one which will be considered by the Government of India with an honest and sincere desire to admit, so far as public interest will allow us to do, natives of India to such offices in which we shall upon mature deliberation consider that they can give to the public and to their fellow-countrymen valuable and efficient service.

One word more and I shall sit down. I look upon the extension of education in India, and especially of high English education, as a matter of very great importance, because I see that it is only by English education, it is only by a complete mastery of the English language and a thorough sympathy with the forms of thought in England, that cordial and intimate social relations can be maintained between those of Her Majesty's subjects who come from the West, and those who live in this country, and, as I believe there are few things more important in this country than that there should be the most complete sympathy between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects, I hail the extension of high English education as being, to my mind, in addition to all the other advantages which it possesses, the most powerful aid to the complete social equality which I desire to see established in India between all Her Majesty's subjects.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I shall always look back to this day with feelings of great satisfaction, and I consider it one of the highest honours that have fallen to my lot in life to have had to preside at this Convocation, held for the first time in this hall—which Convocation, I agree with you, may rightly be said to be the consummation of the educational policy, which has been followed by the Government of India for the last 20 years.

*The 21st March, 1874*

The Hon'ble Mr. E. C. Bayley, C.S.I.

*Vice-Chancellor.*

GENTLEMEN,

A far larger number of candidates has this year attended the Entrance Examination, there being an advance of just 400 above the number of 1872-73. But the present was the last occasion for which selections in English have been appointed, and it is clear that in consequence many have been tempted to try their chance who would otherwise have waited for another year. The number of failures has consequently been more than usually large.

The First Arts Examination is more satisfactory, for, although the number of candidates is slightly lessened (there being but 532 against 560 in 1872), the proportion of success has been very largely greater, the general percentage being  $56\frac{1}{2}$  as against 39 of last year, while the proportion of successful candidates from Oudh rises to 75 per cent.

In the B. A. Degree, while the number of candidates has decreased slightly, the average of success has also, I am sorry to say, decreased more than 8 per cent.; but this may possibly prove an accidental fluctuation.

The number of candidates for the M. A. Degree was nearly double that of last year, but, as might be expected from this sudden increase, the proportion of success has fallen just 10 per cent. from the high figure of 1873. Two have been placed in the First Class, and I am authorised to say that a third, who took up Arabic, if he had been eligible to take honours, would have held a high place on the list.

I have again to repeat that our examinations have, no doubt, been designedly made more searching than in earlier years. And while, therefore, in future, we may not expect a rapid increase in the number of candidates, I sincerely trust that we are gradually obtaining more solid results, and that the character of the education which we test is year by year becoming more thorough and complete. This is certainly very markedly the case throughout the Upper Provinces, and most especially so in Oudh.

The examinations in Law and Medicine have been largely attended this year, and those in Law show singularly successful results. As respects the License in Law, however, this is accounted for by the fact that it was a special examination confined to a certain class who had been unable to pass in 1873, the last year in which the Licentiate Examination was open generally. The examination in Medicine is not yet complete, but it is understood that its outcome again

points to the necessity for re-considering the standard of admission to medical studies.

I have little to add to this brief outline as to the history of the past year. The Radhakant Medal for Sanskrit has been awarded for the first time, and it is gratifying to find that the successful candidate, Prasanna Kumar Lahiri, has attained remarkable success in other branches of study; that he is, in fact, the first student of his year. I look upon the result as specially satisfactory, for it proves that distinguished proficiency in the ancient classical languages of India is no bar to a high and liberal education; and this is a matter of no mean importance, because it is, I feel confident, among men who are thus conversant at once with the new wisdom and the old that we must look for the founders of the future national school of learning in India.

During the year we have lost more than one of our Fellows, from whose ability and zeal in the cause of education we might have hoped for valuable future aid. Conspicuous among them were the late Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jardine and Mr. Willmott, both of whom were suddenly cut off in the prime of their usefulness. I can justly say that their loss is felt and lamented in the departments of the State with which they were connected.

Ram Chandra Mitra, too, has passed away; he deserves a tribute of respect as a veteran

champion of education, whose services were rendered at a time when there were few to fight, and when the struggle was hard to maintain, and because his personal high character lent force to his exertions.

To one incident of the past year I am compelled to allude, though I shall do so as briefly as is consistent with justice. An official document was recently made public, a passage in which could, while unexplained, hardly be otherwise construed than as charging one of our most distinguished Examiners with so setting his papers as to place all examinees, except his own pupils, at a disadvantage.

The Syndicate considered it necessary, with reference to the high authority under which the statement issued, at once to put this very serious allegation to the proof. I need hardly add that we found it quite groundless. I will only so far enter into particulars as to say that, on analysing the papers criticised, we found not only that they were well and fairly set, but such that any diligent private student could have answered by far the greater part of them, and we believe also that any student of somewhat superior ability who had mastered his subject could easily have answered the whole. We found, moreover, that of the students who had been rejected none had owed their ill success wholly to failure in the papers set by the examiner indicated, and that,



in every case but one, their failure in other papers and subjects had been far more signal.

I must add that the gentleman in whose report the passage occurred has since disclaimed the imputation which his words seemed to convey, and has intimated that he never even saw the papers to which he objected.

It is, of course, impossible for an institution dealing with a subject of such difficulty as the general control of education—a subject, too, on which such very opposite opinions are often held by men equally able and equally experienced—to escape criticism. But while it is easy to deal with specific allegations like that just mentioned, it is less easy to meet others which take up more vague and general grounds. Nothing, for example, is more frequently attacked than our mode of selecting Examiners. I can only say that many of the objections urged may be, no doubt, sound in theory, but they are often equally applicable, and are indeed actually made, against similar selections in our great Universities at home. The truth is, that a really good examiner is nowhere very readily found. Not every scholar, especially if he has never been a teacher, is competent to examine, even in the subject with which he is most familiar, so as really to test the proficiency of those with whom he is dealing; and in India, where the number of competent scholars is few, and the area over

which they are dispersed is large, and where physical and financial obstacles of every kind add to the difficulty, we cannot hope always to make a selection which will be beyond cavil. Still I can conscientiously say that year by year the Syndicate has availed itself of every means in its power to procure competent and independent examiners, and I may venture to affirm not only that we have been successful, but that we are very much indebted to the many gentlemen who have from time to time consented to undertake an arduous and somewhat thankless office, and to render services which can hardly be measured by any pecuniary remuneration.

Other suggestions for various reforms have been and are from time to time pressed upon us—such for example, as that of making our examinations “more practical,” and particularly of making compulsory an earlier acquaintance with the Natural Sciences. The authorities of the University have, within the past three years, very carefully considered this subject, and the Senate has, you are aware, already so altered the higher examinations as to give a considerable encouragement to studies of this class. But, for my own part, I believe that we have now gone as far as is safe and justifiable in this direction, even in the interest of the Physical Sciences themselves. I feel assured that any greater and especially any earlier encouragement of such

studies can only be given at the expense of the general training and discipline of the mental faculties, which it has been, and I believe always should be, the essential policy of our examinations to secure, and which is, I believe, absolutely requisite for a profitable study of the Natural Sciences themselves.

It is certainly the opinion of impartial observers, well qualified to judge, that the experiments in this direction which have been made in England can be hardly regarded as „successful, and I feel assured that we should do well to pause very long before committing ourselves further to what seem only too likely to prove an unsound and downward course.

Another call which has more than once been made upon us is to aid in impressing a more moral character on the course of education, and once, at least, we have been moved to do this by establishing a compulsory course of abstract ethics.

The gentlemen who urge these proposals come from very different classes, and are qualified to speak by the most varied and opposite experience; their character and judgment are worthy of all attention, as their motives command our most sincere respect.

Still I venture to think that they have somewhat misconceived the nature of the evil they would attack, and I am sure that their remedy,

even if applicable at all, would be all powerless to stay it. It is affirmed by them and by many (to what extent it may be urged accurately, I do not stop to enquire) that the spread of Western education and of the modes of Western thought has been accompanied by the relaxation of old traditional sanctions; and that this relaxation has, to a greater or less extent, corrupted and demoralized society. Such, at least, is the view taken by those who look most gloomily on the situation. Now, accepting this view for a moment, it still remains to ask, in the first place, how far this result is the natural outcome of the modern system of education itself ?

It is one of the plainest teachings of history that such a relaxation of manners is the inevitable concomitant of every moral revolution, however beneficial that revolution may be in itself. And the reason is palpably this : In every old society there always is a class, larger or smaller according as that society has become more or less corrupt, who are kept within the bounds of decency only by the strong sanctions of public opinion, and who, as soon as these sanctions are loosened by any change of popular feeling, seize the easy pretext for indulging in full license.

I must repeat that I guard myself from expressing any opinion how far this result has been really experienced among ourselves. No doubt, so far as the allegation is true, if the

University had any power to avert the evil, more especially if it were the direct result in any way of the teaching which is under the influence of the University, it would be our paramount duty strenuously to aid in overcoming it. But I believe that the alleged demoralization is in no way the natural result of Western education, much less of any action of the University : on the contrary, I feel sure that, so far this last has any influence at all, it has tended wholly in the opposite direction.

What the University has power to do is to prescribe generally the channels in which the intellect shall be exercised : the objects upon which the imagination shall be trained ; the manner and the extent in which the faculties of the mind shall be developed, so as properly to balance one another. I certainly think that it has exercised this function in a way beneficial rather than injurious to the national morality. For example, take the training of the imagination, and no one who has traced the very important part which the influence of the imagination plays on every man's daily life will undervalue the importance to morality of rightly training it. One of our great Christian teachers has said : "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be

any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." I know no other words which indicate so exactly the proper method of forming the imagination upon fitting models, and of bringing it under due control. I ask you to try by these words the standard which the University prescribes for the same purpose, and I aver with confidence that they will be found completely in harmony ; and so it is, I believe, with other parts of the teaching we prescribe—we encourage the impartial search for truth, and indicate logical modes of testing it. In short, our one main object is to call into activity all the various faculties of the mind, so as to enable those who are taught to deal effectively with the moral and practical problems which their daily duties in life make it necessary for them to solve. And if we examine the immediate product of these modes of training, that is to say, if we look to those now moving in ranks of active life, who really represent the modern system of education, those who have imbibed its true spirit, and distinguished themselves as its disciples, I believe it may be fairly said, taking them as a class, that they are the reverse of corrupted or immoral. So far, indeed, as my own experience goes, I believe the truth is absolutely the other way ; that, as a class, they are eminently better men and better citizens than they could have been without that education.

Still I do not by any means wish to deprecate the teaching of abstract ethics. Individually I would gladly see it introduced among the subjects in which the University examines. But before the University can offer to examine in such a subject, some definite system of teaching must be selected, and this must be put upon some settled basis. Herein lies the difficulty. It is impossible for us to hope for any definite approach to agreement among those who teach, even as to the basis of ethics, or for any consensus as to the adoption of a system or even alternative systems of ethical teaching. And even if this difficulty were surmounted, I feel sure that the reform would do little for the object in reference to which it has been proposed; those who would really benefit by it are exactly the class who need it least—those who are already most fully under the all-beneficial influence of the new education.

It is contrary, moreover, to all experience and to all reasonable expectation that the formal teaching of any mere ethical system, however excellent, should ever stem the tide of popular corruption. That will be stemmed, I very confidently hope, when the sanctions of public opinion are restored, as no doubt they will be restored when popular feeling has settled down into new and better channels.

Meanwhile, I fear greatly that any influence which the University can bring to bear on the matter can only be at the best very indirect, and this is not the place or the opportunity for examining the question in its other aspects. All that I have desired to do is to vindicate the attitude which the University has assumed in regard to it.

I will only further say that the matter is one in which, above all others, personal influence and example are all powerful ; and if the reproach of causing any disturbance of the national manners has been cast, however unjustly, upon the followers of "new learning," it is doubtless the more incumbent upon them to recompense the benefits they have received from it by showing themselves "in their life and conversation worthy of the same."

I do not wish to leave you under the impression that the University, in this or in any other way, has been rightly put upon its defence. I have made these explanations in difference and in respect to those who have urged on us to modify our action. I believe that the attitude which the University has assumed on these questions commands the general respect of the community at large. I believe sincerely that its influence for good and its popularity are growing annually ; and I see no reason to doubt that this will continue to be the case, or that, as



the associations of the University gather strength from the lapse of succeeding years, we shall exercise a still more powerful influence, and still more worthily deserve and more completely obtain the confidence which the people already repose in us.

***The 13th March, 1875*****The Hon'ble Mr. E. C. Bayley, C.S.I.***Vice-Chancellor*

GENTLEMEN,

This year for the first time no books have been prescribed for the Entrance Examination in English. It is very satisfactory to find that the experiment has worked well. There has been a slight contraction in the number of candidates—there being only 2,254 against 2,544 in 1873. But in reality this cannot be deemed any loss to the University, for the proportion of those who have passed is much higher—43 per cent. as against 33 per cent. last year, and moreover, the percentage of those who have passed in the first and second classes is also higher. Moreover, actually higher marks were on the average gained this year for English than was the case, and I can personally testify that the papers set were, without being too severe, such that certainly no student could have been placed in the first class without a very good, and in the second class without a very competent, knowledge of the English language, its structure, and its idioms.

Possibly a few scarcely qualified candidates have been deterred from coming up, while, on the other hand, the testing of the education of

the rest has been far more thorough and genuine than before, and the students have undergone it very satisfactorily. If future experience bears out this promise of success, I trust the University will be able to extend the system of examining without prescribing books to other subjects, and to higher standards.

The only marked failure has been in the First Arts Examination. I am afraid this is to be attributed to the class of students who came up to the Entrance the year before last, many of whom barely passed. This seems shown by the following facts: The number of candidates being nearly the same both this year and the last, no less than 64 per cent. failed in 1874, while in 1873 only 44 per cent. failed; and in one subject taught from a fixed text book, and the minimum number of marks required in which is only 25 per cent. of the maximum number, no less than 159 out of 533 candidates failed to get this minimum. Yet this did not result from any exceptional severity in the examination papers, which were of the usual description.

The B. A. Examination has shown no special results. Of 217 candidates, 79 were examined according to the B. or Physical Science Course. Many of the best students of the year chose this course, but the examiners report that their answers went little beyond the careful reproduction of the matter of the text books. It will be

probably found necessary to give a greater prominence during future examinations in this Course to questions calculated to test the student's practical knowledge of the subject.

In the M. A. Examination there has been a slight decrease both in the number of candidates and in number of those who passed,—a result probably attributable in both cases to the same cause, the raising of the standard of the Examination under the advice tendered to the University by last year's Examiners. The present Examiners testify that the effect has been this year satisfactory, being merely to exclude one or two candidates whose acquirements did not really merit an M. A. degree.

Prasannakumar Lahiri, who last year gained the Radhakanta Medal in Sanskrit at the B. A. Examination, besides distinguishing himself in other departments, has maintained his place as the best student of his year, and has been placed in the first class in English. One other first class has also been awarded in Physics and Chemistry.

• There has been a falling off in the number of those who have attained the degree of Bachelor of Laws as compared with last year, but last year's results were exceptionally favourable, and the failures this year have not been confined to any particular branch of Law, but were pretty equally divided through all parts of this subject.

The University has now determined to require the passing of the First Arts Examination as a preliminary condition to admission to Medical studies. The Examiners, Teachers, and Local Government were unanimous in desiring this measure, which will, I have no doubt, have hereafter an important beneficial effect on the teaching of Medical Science.

The measures of the University have, as you will see by these remarks, still been directed to maintaining a higher standard of teaching and more thoroughly testing its results.

I regret to announce that, acting on the opinions of the Examiners, the Syndicate found themselves unable this year to award the Premchand Roychand Scholarship to any candidate. It is the present intention of the University to offer for competition two Scholarships next year, the second being held for one year less than usual.

Another circumstance of a pleasanter character has been the presence in a high place of the Cambridge Mathematical Honor List of the name of that student of our own University for whom my learned predecessor, Sir H. Maine, predicted such a success if he should attempt it. I trust it may be the first step in an useful, successful and honorable career.

Four of our Fellows have been lost to us by death this year. Of Raja Kalikrishna, so well

known to all who hear me, I need say little : to high personal character he united considerable acquirements, and his passionate devotion to the ancient classical literature of his country was worthy of all respect. Dr. Satkauri Dutt was a man who sought only unostentatiously and zealously to do his duty, But his ability, industry and conscientiousness won him a reputation in this city which will long survive. Dr. Chuckerbutty would deserve mention, if only as the representative of that first little band who braved all prejudice in the pursuit of knowledge and set the example, now more widely followed, of proceeding to Europe in search of it, but he deserves more notice than this, for his unfortunately too short life was worthy of the promise of his youth, and he had earned an honourable place in his profession and in the estimation of all classes of society when he was prematurely called away.

And, lastly, I have to mention the name of one who was in daily familiar intercourse with many of you, and whose brilliant career has been brought to a very early close : I mean the late Mr. Beebee, whose zeal and devotion to his duties and the interests of his students were known to you all. After gaining other University distinctions, he graduated ten years ago as 4th in the Classical and 18th in the Mathematical Honor List of his year at Cambridge ; he left

his own University with a scholastic reputation which would have secured him an honorable entrance into any profession. He selected the Educational Service in India as his career, and devoted to it all his abilities and enthusiasm. His early death is a grave loss to the University, to the College to which he was attached, and to a large body of Native and European friends by whom he was equally respected and beloved.

And now I will take advantage of the last opportunity which I shall have of addressing you as Vice-Chancellor to ask your attention to some of the leading topics regarding the functions of the University, its present position, its possible future, which I have from time to time urged upon you during the past six years. I know a recurrence to these topics may be somewhat wearisome, but I feel so earnestly and so strongly the great importance of the task which the University is called upon to perform, and the hindrances to which it has been sometimes exposed by what I believe to be misunderstandings, that I must ask your indulgence for a few minutes.

And first of all as to the position of the University itself. Its establishment as an independent corporation was the primary step towards the end aimed at by the great Educational Despatch of 1854, namely, that of establishing a

system of higher education—catholic in its character, and designed gradually to become self-sustaining. For this object it was essential to provide a controlling influence apart from Government, uniform in its action, and competent to maintain high standards without variation or caprice, yet capable of adapting itself to the growing wants of the Empire.

Such being the status of the University, its main function is, no doubt, the testing and the control of higher education, and the formation of a class of trained thinkers, able in their turn to lead and educate their fellow-countrymen, and to raise up indigenous schools of science, of literature—schools, indeed, of new thought upon all the subjects which awake the interest and affect the condition of mankind.

Nor does it, I think, admit of any real controversy that the training which, for this object, the University must seek to secure is one which shall give such due exercise to all the various faculties of the mind as to prepare it to grapple honestly, boldly and accurately with the problems that come before it, as well those which are practical as those which are abstract, those which appertain to the business of daily life, as well as those which affect things of yet higher importance.

In short, our aim is to place the student who attains our degrees in the arena of life armed



with the best intellectual weapons and skilled in the use of them.

But though this is the main, it is not the only, duty of the University. One clear function of all Universities has always been to provide for the special teaching of those professions which are commonly called learned professions—professions, that is, the successful prosecution of which necessitates both a high standard of general intellectual training as well as the simultaneous and early acquirement of special technical knowledge.

Under the present necessities of society in India this latter duty and that of the encouragement of a more extensive pursuit of physical science have, perhaps, become specially incumbent on Indian Universities.

Lastly, there is influence which, however indirect, I believe the University is capable of exercising on the education and elevation of the great mass of the people. I quite acknowledge that this is not wholly within the direct province of the University itself; yet this lower class education is a necessity of such enormous importance, that it calls, I believe, for the exertion of every influence which is capable of usefully affecting it. Until a breathing life is infused into the vast dead mass of ignorance which lies all around us, the really educated class, which it is the prime function of the University to create

and to maintain, can hardly exert their proper influence. Until the general mass of the people is aroused to intelligence and intellectual action, the country will never enjoy its fair share of material prosperity, or occupy its proper place in the list of nations. I do believe that the University is in a position indirectly to give an impetus to this class of education such as it has given to higher education, and such as I believe no other influence can give.

If these be the objects we set out by seeking, it may, I think, be fairly asked how far the University, now emerging from its technical nonage, has helped their attainment, and is in a position further to advance them.

In its first object, in the maintenance of a high, uniform and continuous standard of intellectual training and the enforcement of thorough teaching, I think that without intringing the bounds of truth, we may claim for the University at least a fair proportion of success; the area of our influence has been annually extending, and for the last few years our efforts have been mainly directed to a more complete testing of the education which professes to be under our guidance. We have been able, moreover, from time to time to raise our requirements with the advancing growth of education, or to modify them according to the facts which experience brought to light. I may mention as a few

instances the abolition of the lower standard in Law, the recent adoption of a higher preliminary qualification for the commencement of medical lectures, the encouragement given to physical studies, the rising of the minimum number of marks in the higher examinations, and, above all, the abolition of any prescribed list of books for the Entrance Examination in English. I have already spoken of the way in which these alterations have worked so far as they have been put in force, they were all adopted cautiously, and after long and anxious deliberation, and I think we may congratulate ourselves on the measure of success with which they have been already attended.

We have sought, in short, sound and solid progress rather than a mushroom rapidity of growth. And the question after all really is, what has been the practical result of our exertions?

I speak to those who have every day experience of those results, and I think I may appeal to them confidently for a favourable answer, I by no means wish to claim any complete and unmixed success. Our University has to contend against difficulties and disadvantages which are unknown to most European Universities, and in many respects has to combat also in a far higher degree the chief evils which likewise beset the latter. Nor do I mean to claim for ourselves any immunity from imperfection and

from error. We have been compelled often to work in great uncertainty as to the precise effect of our measures, sometimes with inferior instruments and on imperfectly prepared material. There have been, and still are, many other obstacles in our way; and that much partial failure should, specially at first, attend our efforts, is scarcely wonderful. Nevertheless I do honestly believe that we have achieved already a very creditable and important success. I do not speak of the mere scholastic aquirements of our graduates, though these have often of a very high standard, but of the University system itself, which has, I feel no doubt, aided materially in moulding for good the large and growing class which leads the Native community. At least I am sure that no one will deny the extensive influence which the University has had on the training of this class, and I confidently believe that it has been, as we have desired it to be, a right influence.

In other words, I do think that the class which the University directly influence has gone forth into active life with better trained intellectual faculties, with more cultivated imaginations, with higher aims, wider sympathies, than those which any other class among the Native community possess; and I do believe that these qualifications have to a great extent borne fruit in stricter integrity and a purer mode of life.

If I am right in making this assertion—and I do so after much careful observation and patient inquiry—then, indeed, the University has done something towards the fulfilment of its highest function.

Nor in the field of professional training do I think there is any reason to be dissatisfied with the outcome of our exertions: at least in Medicine and in Law there are many of our graduates now rising to distinguished positions, some of whom would probably achieve eminence in any country. But here, too, our means have yet been imperfect, and the time has probably now come for more extensive and for more direct action in this respect on the part of the University: but on this point I will speak again presently.

As to the direct aid of the University in arousing the mass of the people from their death-sleep of ignorance, I can say nothing. That in this respect the University has shown itself willing to give the full aid of its assistance is all that can be now said. I trust the time will soon come when its co-operation may be utilized.

But what of the future? Whatever our success has been, the field over which the University's action extends is so immense, that we cannot claim to have made yet a very perceptible impression on it. Of course such a consideration must stimulate only to more and more energetic exertion, and I propose now to enquire in what

direction that exertion may be expended. In doing this I will not attempt to sketch the ideal career of a typical Indian University, but endeavour to point out as simply as I can the direction in which past experience seems to show that further advance and more extended success is now plainly and immediately practicable. There is at least no doubt that, whatever success has been achieved by the University towards raising up a body of highly educated Natives, however valuable their action on the general body of Native society has shown itself to be, there is yet ample room for the far wider numerical extension of this class, and an almost indefinitely large opening for its beneficial action.

Again, whatever excellence that class may have attained, is there not further room for improvement in the modes of training it? No doubt in touching this last point, I approach many controversies into which I have no time to enter, but I may say briefly that the conclusion to which my own experience has led me is, that while we should in the first place look for a sound general intellectual training as a preliminary condition for entrance on our rolls, that while we should not neglect the maintenance of this, at least to some extent, in our higher Examinations, yet that in these last, and especially in the highest, it will probably be expedient to

make a yet more complete separation of various courses of study so as to avoid still further the danger of a superficial attention being paid to many subjects, instead of a thorough study of one or two. I know that many to whose opinion I would generally defer do not concur with me on this point, and I am not ignorant, even if the principle be accepted, of the difficulties which stand in the way of carrying it out.

Of course the University cannot prescribe standards for teaching while no machinery exists, and this has been one of the great obstacles with which we have had to deal. But something has been already done to remedy this difficulty. Additional special teaching of a high character has gradually been provided both in Bengal and in the North-Western Provinces, and I think also that the time has arrived when the University itself may very properly, within its means, assume to some extent actual teaching of the highest character. This was, indeed, contemplated in that same memorable despatch which directed the establishment of the Universities. It was, in fact, said in so many words in the 30th paragraph of that document: "It will no doubt be advisable to institute, in connection with the University, Professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now

exist in other institutions in India." I think that the time has come when not only the advisability but the actual pressing need of some such measure has become manifest. It is clear that it is not possible, on grounds of expense, to maintain many chairs of the highest class, and if they be attached to any special school or college, few can profit by them save those who belong to that particular institution. Now it is certain that a very large number of independent institutions are springing up which teach up to the point at which the special teaching should begin, but which cannot afford to go further; and if such special teaching is as great a general need as I believe it to be, it seems only just and fair that it should be open to all who are qualified to make a right use of it. It is indeed the express policy of the despatch of 1854 to give every encouragement to such independent institutions, and the necessity for some such plan of University Professorships will become more evident year by year as these institutions gain in strength, and apparently its general adoption in some form or other cannot long be delayed. It has become a mere question of time and of money. As to the latter, indeed, such a scheme would, I think, from the outset be partially self-supporting, and I feel confident that either the aid of Government or private liberality will, when the time comes, supply the rest.



These remarks are particularly applicable to one branch of professional teaching—I mean that of Law. Indeed, Law was pointed out as the first subject which should be taken up in the same paragraph of the despatch of which I have read a portion. The study of this profession does not necessitate, as that of Medicine does, the assistance of extensive appliances for demonstration and research. It is a study which can be pursued by any one, possessed of fair abilities and fair general mental training. It is one, therefore, which may, and I think should, be open to all students alike from all quarters and of all institutions. And the necessity of something being done to improve the existing system of legal teaching is becoming very urgent. On the Native lawyers of the present generation are more and more devolving duties demanding deep research, correct knowledge of principles of Law, and skill in the application of them---duties, in truth, not inferior to those which belong to the legal profession in all parts of the world. The training they receive, therefore, should not be inferior either. But with no sort of disrespect to the learned gentlemen who now are chiefly responsible for it, I think it must be admitted that the extent of the present machinery does not admit of the best possible teaching being given in each important branch of the subject.

A thorough recasting of this machinery is therefore a distinct want. Indeed, it has already been brought urgently under the attention of the University authorities by one of the most learned and active among our members. I may say that measures are in contemplation to meet, at any rate to some extent, the necessities of the case, and I think I may promise that they will not be allowed to sleep. I feel sure, moreover, that if the carrying out of these measures be, as I believe it ought to be, and trust that it will be, committed to the charge of the University, they will be arranged so as to give the widest benefit to all classes of students, will be established on a well-considered and consistent basis, and be far more fully and closely supervised than will be possible in any other way.

And now having touched thus summarily the main questions of interest connected with the present position of the University, I desire to repeat on this occasion the appeal which I have more than once made to those of our graduates who have gone out into the active business of life. I make that appeal, not as a mere matter of form, but as a sincere and earnest exhortation on a very real and urgent matter.

I have said before, and I feel confident it is no exaggeration, that in a very large measure upon them depend the national progress and

welfare of their countrymen. By the example of their lives they all do much for good or evil, for all possess a very large influence on those immediately in contact with them. But it is not merely the passive aid of their example which I call upon them to give. If they feel that they have derived any better standard of morals, any higher aims, any more refined intellectual pleasures, larger influence, respect, or material advantage from their training, they are bound by the commonest laws of gratitude and generosity to repay some portion of the good things they have received. This they can scarcely do in any better way than in communicating to the mass of their less fortunate fellow-countrymen some share of the intellectual advantage which they enjoy. The power of doing this depends so much on their individual circumstance, that I cannot profess to do more than to direct special attention to the three palpable needs which six years ago I indicated as those toward satisfying which every graduate of the University ought to lend some personal aid ; I mean the spread of Vernacular education, the creation of a national literature, and of a national school of science. Something, no doubt, is being gradually done towards the second object, but this can never find its full development while Vernacular education is so backward as at present, and scientific literature at least must

await the existence of a school of Vernacular science. Still, there is in India so boundless a field for the exercise of literary ability and for scientific research of every class, that for very shame we should not allow it to remain unworked.

I think that in some one or other of these directions every University graduate can at least do a little, and a little, if well done and oftentimes repeated, soon makes itself felt. It is not much to ask this, and I do trust that now that we count our graduates, not by scores but by hundreds, some progress in all these directions will be soon manifest.

And while on this subject, I would venture to add one word more. It is, I fear, a rather common fault with all men—and it is one that seems to me peculiarly common and fatal at this day and in Native society—that men abstain from doing good or attacking evil when the opportunity is plain before them for lack of faith in their individual power ; but it is no new lesson which science teaches when it says that no energy, however feeble, is ever lost, and that no exertion is without some avail. It may be that we must work with little knowledge of the way in which our efforts may contribute the ultimate result ; but if they are just and well aimed, they cannot fail to contribute in some way or another to ultimate success, and I would

remind you that some of the greatest triumphs in the world's history have been wrought by those to whom life appeared as

“ A battle whose great scheme and scope  
They little cared to know,  
Content as men at arms to cope  
Each with his fronting foe.”

I will detain you no further than to bid you farewell, and to assure you of the sincere interest which I must always feel in the career of the University and in its success. I shall feel this interest primarily no doubt on account of the grand duties which the University has to fulfil, but also because with it will always be connected the memory of some of the most grateful and congenial labours of my life.

*The 3rd January, 1876*

The Hon'ble Arthur Hobhouse, Q. C.

*Vice-Chancellor*

MY LORD,

It devolves upon me as Vice-Chancellor of this University to present to your Lordship His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to receive the Degree of Doctor in Law.

It is customary in our English Universities that the merits of each recipient of an Honorary Degree should be set forth by the official who presents him. In the case of the Heir-apparent to the English Throne, I think that such eulogy may most fittingly be omitted. But I may yet say a few words suggested by the occasion of the first gift of an Honorary Degree by this University.

My Lord, it is often imputed to us English Rulers of India that we are in too great a hurry to introduce European ideas, and that we thus plant sickly exotics, which wither away because they have no root in the feelings of the people. How much there is of true and how much of false in that saying, I do not now ask; for no such objection, is, or can be, made to this University.

The statesmen who founded our University acted with the true insight of faith. They did not aim at this or that special political result. They considered it their duty towards their subjects to lead them to that which refines and ennobles all the world, to help them in cultivating what is highest and noblest in man, and in acquiring the knowledge and mental habits without which every society is but mutilated and feeble. And so acting, they have founded an Institution of extraordinary vitality and vigour of growth; one pregnant with the life which no ruler can give, but which can spring only from close affinity with the wishes and aspirations of a people.

Though still less than 20 years old, our University has come to exercise a great influence on the Education of Northern India. It already receives candidates for admission from some 270 Schools, educating some 40,000 pupils. This year nearly 2,400 young men knocked at its door for admission, and nearly 300 have presented themselves for a Bachelor's degree. Those who have the working of it, tell us that no event of the year excites more general interest in Indian households than the examinations of our University, and all this notwithstanding that our managers have now and again raised the standards of learning, and have made admission to membership continually more difficult. What

may be the political and social results of this great mental stimulus, those may tell who are here many years after we are gone. But it is certain that our Founders have given to the people of India an instrument which they want, and are determined to use. That it is being used, and will continue to be used for good, I for one do not doubt.

My Lord, it is an auspicious day for this University when we are able to open our book of Honorary Degrees with the name of the Prince of Wales. As I before intimated, we are still in our infancy, and, like other infants, we may have chequered fortunes before us; but I think that nothing will ever happen to make His Royal Highness regret his fellowship with us. If the past ratio of progress be continued, he may, at the end of another 20 years, find himself a member of the largest University in the world, and one of the most influential on the people among whom it works. And I speak with confidence when I say that among the roll of our graduates, either Honorary or Ordinary, there will then be names of whose company, no personage, however exalted, need feel ashamed.



*The 11th March, 1876*

The Hon'ble Arthur Hobhouse, Q. C.

*Vice-Chancellor*

GENTLEMEN,

It now devolves upon me, following the custom handed down by my predecessors, to make some remarks on the events of the past year. In this respect, an institution is very like an individual man. It is easy for us to be too introspective and too retrospective. It is not healthy for a man to be perpetually testing the state of his body, or comparing himself with what he has been. We are all more concerned with the present and future than with the past and have all a great quantity of work to do in the world which, whether we are a little better or a little worse, we must set ourselves to do with all our might. Still, it is a good thing now and then to compare ourselves with ourselves, to take stock of our spiritual, as well as of our pecuniary, affairs, and so to consider how far we have advanced, in what direction we are moving, and what experience we may gather from the past to improve our progress for the future.

Now, the principal function performed by this University is to test the education given at

other places. We thereby serve two important purposes. We acquire information of the quantity and quality of the education actually being given at the principal schools in the country; and, by conferring Degrees, to which great value is attached in Indian society, we provide a motive for exertion, which directly affects all the students at those schools. By these means we are inducing ever-increasing numbers to seek education, and we are supplying a standard by which it may be judged whether, or not, the education which a man has received is a liberal one.

Our object, of course, is to increase, as far as we can, the numbers of those who seek a liberal education, and, at the same time, to secure that the education shall be a really good and liberal one. To secure the latter object, the authorities of this University have been, from time to time, constantly, though cautiously and gradually, raising the standards of acquirement necessary to pass our examinations. The risk of deterring some men from offering themselves at all has been run whenever it has been thought that the average standard might properly be raised.

Looking back over the 18 years for which we have existed, we find, on the whole, great success and encouragement to persevere. Degrees are eagerly sought after, many men are thereby

led to work hard, and to acquire industrious habits and sound knowledge, and the quality of education has been sensibly improved. But, looking back over the past year alone, we have not so much cause for congratulation. So far, indeed, as regards quantity, there has been an increase of candidates over those of last year ; but, on the other hand, there has been a decided decrease of successful candidates. I will state to you some of the results which the figures show.

For the Entrance Examination there was an increase of about 119 candidates over the number of 1874, but a falling-off of about 128 in the number of those who passed. For every 100 candidates who presented themselves in 1874, 42 were accepted ; but in 1875, for every 100 who presented themselves, only 36 were accepted. Again, in the First Arts Examination, there was an increase of 42 candidates, but a decrease of 11 in those who passed. For every 100 who tried in 1874, 36 succeeded ; but in 1875 only 31 succeeded. In the B. A. Examination, the difference between the two years is still more remarkable. There was a very large increase of candidates, there being 281 in 1876, as against 217 in 1875 ; but the number of those who succeeded in 1876 was absolutely smaller, and relatively far smaller. Whereas, in 1875, for every 100 who offered themselves, 41 succeeded ;

in 1876, only 26, or little more than a quarter, succeeded.

The Examinations for the degrees of M. A. and B. L. have been more satisfactory, but the three Examinations of which I have mentioned, the details are, in point of the numbers they affect, by far the most important of our University Examinations. These occurrences suggest some observations, which I will make before I sit down. For the present, I proceed with the events of the year.

It is a subject of some congratulation that a scholarship for proficiency in languages (the Duff Scholarship) has this year, for the first time, been won by a Muhammadan student, Muhammad Ibrahim of the Delhi College. We have hitherto much regretted the reluctance displayed by our Muhammadan fellow-countrymen to receive the benefits of modern education. I trust that the success of Muhammad Ibrahim is a symptom that the ice is breaking. I trust also that the establishment of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh by the Native gentry, with the encouragement and assistance of my friend, Sir William Muir, is another symptom of the same thing. Muhammadans cannot afford to neglect their education any more than Christians or Hindus can ; and, if they do so, they will certainly be distanced in the race.

The next subject I have to mention is that of Honorary Degrees. You will not have forgotten that, when the Prince of Wales visited us, we took the occasion of doing honor to him and to ourselves by making him a Doctor of this University. I then made some general observations on the subject, which I will not now repeat. What I have now to do is to say something of the three eminent gentlemen who have been admitted to the same Degree to-day ; but I wish the task had fallen to the lot of some one other than myself, because I am very ignorant of the branches of learning in which they have excelled.

Of Dr. Monier Williams, most of you probably know that he has been for many years Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford and has devoted himself with great zeal to enlarge the knowledge of Sanskrit in England. However great his merit as a scholar and investigator, I believe that he has applied his mind principally to the business of teaching, and that by his works, especially his English and Sanskrit Dictionaries, he has done more than any living man to bridge over the gulf which lies between the English mind and the most important of the Asiatic classical languages ; the language, at least, which is most important to us, because it forms a link between what is spoken in a Parish vestry in England and what is spoken in a

village Council in India. Moreover, he has lately imposed upon himself a voluntary mission in *this* country with the view of making arrangements which may both promote a better knowledge of India in England, and a better knowledge of England in India. And, during his absence, the University of Oxford have expressed their sense of his services by conferring upon him an Honorary Degree equivalent to that which he has received to-day. I may add that Dr. Williams has written to me to say that this Degree will be a great encouragement to him in the important work to which he has devoted himself.

The other two gentlemen have been longer known to most of you than to me.

One of them is Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, whose voluminous works I only wish that I could study and understand. There is no European Society of Oriental scholars to whom he is not honorably known, and there are many who have been glad to admit him as a member and a colleague. He has thrown light on many a dark corner of the history antiquities and language of this country. But I am only repeating at second-hand what others have told me, and it will be more satisfactory if I read the very words written and published of him by one of the greatest of living Sanskrit scholars. With reference to an important philological

discovery of Dr. Rajendralāla Mitra, Professor Max Müller has spoken thus :

‘He is a pandit by profession, but he is, at the same time, a scholar and critic in our sense of the word. He has edited Sanskrit texts after a careful collation of MSS., and, in his various contributions to the ‘Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he has proved himself completely above the prejudices of his class, freed from the erroneous views on the history and literature of India in which every Brahman is brought up, and thoroughly imbued with those principles of criticism which men like Colebrooke, Lassen and Burnouf have followed in their researches into the literary treasures of his country. His English is remarkably clear and simple, and his arguments would do credit to any Sanskrit scholar in England.’

And again :—

‘Our Sanskrit scholars in Europe will have to pull hard, if, with such men as Babu Rajendralala in the field, they are not to be distanced in the race of scholarship.’

Of the Rev. Dr. Krishnamohan Banerjea, I may say much the same thing. He, too, has laboured long, honorably and successfully at the literature of his country. Of his Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy, it has been said by Dr. Hall that they are “a mine of new and authentic indications.” His Bengal Encyclopædia and

other works have greatly advanced our knowledge of Indian literature, politics and religion. I may add that one who has left a revered name in this country, the late Bishop Cotton, when advocating the institution of Honorary Degrees, some 15 years ago, mentioned even then the name of Mr. Banerjea as a conspicuous example of those who might fitly receive such a Degree.

I am one of those who think that it behoves this University to grant Honorary Degrees with a sparing hand, but I anticipate a general agreement that nothing but honor to both sides can accrue from the grants made and received to-day.

I must now turn to a sadder theme, which each Vice-Chancellor in his day has to touch upon. The hand of death is ever upon us and during the past year he has taken away two of our distinguished members.

Mr. Atkinson, the Director of Public Instruction, worked among us for 15 years, and during that time he took a leading part in the counsels of this University, and a warm interest in every scheme for the promotion of education in Bengal. It is not many weeks since he went away, hoping to enjoy some well-earned leisure in the evening of life. But that was not to be. He has indeed gone to his rest, but it is where we cannot see him more. Mr. Lobb, Principal



of the Krishnagar College, also served the cause of education long and with distinguished ability. His zeal and devotion are well known, and his death is a serious loss to this University and to the Government under which he worked.

There is yet another loss which the University is about to undergo, not by natural, but by official death. In the course of the next month, our honoured Chancellor will leave the shores of India for ever. I shall not dwell here upon our personal loss, for, if the topic were otherwise appropriate to this place, the presence of Lord Northbrook would forbid it. This only I will say, that amidst all the cares of this great Empire that have pressed on him, Lord Northbrook has found time to give to the affairs of this University, and to those of Indian education generally an amount of attention which his antecedent mastery of the subject has rendered peculiarly valuable.

In this case, however, we have some consolation. It may be that some of you have wandered through our Christian graveyards and have noticed the inscriptions on our tombstones. If so, you will have seen, in various shapes, the frequent repetition of the idea that those whom we mourn are not lost but gone before. It is a pious and a soothing sentiment; but yet we know that, so far as regards this life, they are indeed lost—that the comfort of their presence,

the strength of their sympathy, the guidance of their advice is gone, and that we must fight the battle of life without them. So it is of our dead friends whose names I have just been mentioning. With our Chancellor, I hope, it will be otherwise. It is true that he will be in another land, but it is the land in which the supreme dominion over this country rests, and which is becoming every year more and more closely connected with us. He will there occupy a position in which he will still be cognizant of our educational affairs, and be able to influence them. I have already said that Dr. Williams hopes to aid Indian education by operations in England; and I have much mistaken Lord Northbrook's character if we do not find him ready with sympathy, advice and assistance to forward any judicious plan for the promotion of education in India.

And this brings me to say something of the future at least so far as we can influence it in the present. It has been said before, but cannot be said too often, that the future of this University and country rests with you, the young men who form the principal part of my audience, and with your contemporaries, who are just entering upon life. According as the youth of to-day form their minds, so will the state of the country be to-morrow. But you must form your minds for yourselves; your teachers cannot

do it for you. My cook may provide me an excellent dinner, but if it is to do me any good, I must eat it and digest it myself. Your teachers may show you the road; they may give you the best method of surmounting difficulties; but unless you yourselves walk steadily along the road, unless you climb many a stiff hill and cut through many a jungle by your own exertions, you will never make your journey well.

Now, I have stated before what a number of failures there have been in the Examinations of 1875. I have now to add that, in the Entrance Examination, nearly all the failures were in the subject of English, and that in the other examinations the failures were either in the subject of English or in that of Mathematics. Here then, we have two subjects in which mere pretences of knowledge are of little use. Mathematics cannot be learnt at all without close mental application and thorough understanding of principles; and, with respect to English, a change has recently been made in the system of examination so as to render the barren process of learning rules by rote of little avail and to test the student's real mastery of idioms and grammar. This is the cause of the failures, that real knowledge had been required, and has not been forthcoming. The Examiners tell us that the papers have not been difficult, and I have heard no contradictory opinion on that

point. But they say that the training of the candidates has been shallow, mechanical and inaccurate. In short they have been cramming themselves for an Examination, instead of training themselves to think and to digest what they learn.

Now, the great object of education is so to train the mind that it may know how to grapple with any new problem that is presented to it, and so be able to deal with the complex and varying affairs of life. If a man has acquired that faculty, he is well educated; and if not, he is not well educated. Since I have been in this country, I have heard sneers at the industry of our students on the ground that they are not working from high motives, but just to get on in the world. I confess I do not disparage or despise such a motive, which I think operates much the same everywhere. I speak to you as one who is removed from you by age, but is in sympathy one of yourselves—one who has himself worked hard to win University honors, and who has not been conscious of motives more potent than emulation, the desire of success, and the knowledge that he had his livelihood to earn. Other and higher motives for learning there are, no doubt; but I think that, when they come at all, they come later in life, and that it is somewhat of an anachronism to demand them of the young. At all events, if men acquire the

desired faculties and habits, I, for one, would not be forward to search into the secret springs which move them. But what I wish to point out to you is this, that, whatever your object may be, you will not get it unless your work is honest. Unless you train yourselves thoroughly and accurately to understand your work, you will neither get your Degree, nor any other success in life. The object of a good examiner is to dive deeper than mere cram or mere rote-learning, and to pierce through shams and impostures of all kinds. Even if he fails, as fail he sometimes must, you will find in the demands of actual life a still severer and more abiding test, one that tries the very heart and reins, which cannot be baffled by pretences, nor satisfied by anything but good and solid work. The thorough and accurate training I speak of is not to be got without great labour, though, when got, it is priceless. But you must get it by your own exertions, and it is now in your youth that you can get it on the easiest and cheapest terms. If you neglect it now—if, on the contrary, you form habits of loose inattentive dealing with things, of getting rather the show of learning than learning itself, you will put yourselves at a great disadvantage with your wiser rivals in the struggle of life. Honesty is the best policy in all things, and most especially so in our dealings with our own souls. If you

would succeed, you must make yourselves really understand and know whatever you profess to understand and know ; and the earlier you are in adopting that method, and the more strictly you act upon it, the better for you. Let me repeat to you some homely lines of a kind calculated to remain in one's memory, and to remind us of our duties—

The work that should to-day be wrought

Defer not till to-morrow.

The help that should within be sought

Scorn from without to borrow.

Old maxims these, yet stout and true ;

They speak with trumpet tone—

To do whatever is to do,

And trust yourselves alone.

So doing, you shall be a credit to yourselves and to your country ; and so you shall point a happy moral to some future Vice-Chancellor and adorn his tale when he addresses the young men of his day from this platform.

*The 10th March, 1877*

The Hon'ble Mr. Arthur Hobhouse, Q. C.

*Vice-Chancellor*

GENTLEMEN,

Before I proceed to speak of the topics of the year that we are just closing, I must congratulate the company here assembled on the fact that they have not only a much higher authority than myself, but a much more accomplished orator, to listen to. The head of this University is a nobleman whose genius and industry are well-known both in Europe and in Asia, and than whom there can be no more fitting personage to preside over a Society whose object is the promotion of mental culture. He is in his proper place to-day, and as he proposes to speak to you, I shall make my remarks fewer and briefer than they otherwise would be. You will thus gain two advantages; you will be addressed in a style to which I can make no pretension, and you will escape that tediousness which, like a well-known follower of my own profession, I could otherwise find it in my heart to bestow upon you.

Those who were present at our meeting of last year may possibly remember that, while congratulating the University on its progress from

its birth onwards, I had to lament the results of the particular year 1875. I am glad to say of the year 1876 that the results shown by the examinations are eminently satisfactory. In the three principal examinations which affect the bulk of our students, for Entrance, for First Arts, and for Bachelor of Arts, there has been an increase of candidates, and a large increase of successful candidates. For instance, in the Entrance Examination for last year, the year 1875, only 36 per cent. of the candidates succeeded; but in this year, by which I mean the year 1876, 50 per cent. succeeded. To speak in plainer English, and to speak approximately, for every 10 that succeeded last year, 14 succeeded this year. So in the First Arts Examination, for every 10 who succeeded last year, 15 succeeded this year, and in the B. A. Examination, for every 10 who succeeded last year, very nearly 20 succeeded this year. That is a satisfactory result, and I am informed on the best authority that it is not due to any change in the Examiners or the papers, but that it is due entirely, to the better training of the candidates. They, it appears, have applied themselves less to the show of learning and more to its substance, less to the husk and more to the kernel, less to the letter and more to the spirit.

The improvement which is noticeable throughout their work is particularly conspicuous



on the subjects of Mathematics and English. These two crucial subjects, the stiffest of our fences, which in 1875 caused so many downfalls, have now caused comparatively few ; and it is on this account that the Examiners can say with greater confidence, that the improvement we have to record is a real substantial improvement in the training of the candidates.

The improvement in English is particularly satisfactory on all grounds. In the first place, it shows that the difficulties created by the abolition of text-books have been to a great extent, if not wholly, surmounted ; and that a step which we took for the purpose of abating the practice of cram and for the encouragement of sound training, is meeting with success. But besides that, I cannot help rejoicing on general grounds whenever I hear that a genuine knowledge of English is on the increase in this country.

All who know the history of our educational efforts are well aware how earnestly it has been debated by what vehicle a due knowledge of European thought and learning shall be conveyed to the Indian mind, and how steadfastly our University has adhered to the requisition of English. Well, one of the latest acts of your Syndicate has been to instruct the Examiners to pay still more attention to English Composition, and to take care that our students shall be able

to clothe the dry bones of the language with their due amount of nerve, of muscle, and of polished skin.

It may be my prejudice as an Englishman, but I cannot help believing that, however much more vividly each man may receive ideas through his mother tongue, the spread of the English Language in this country is a most important element of progress. I do not insist so much on the fact, which indeed I can only know by hearsay, that the positive and exact thought of Europe can hardly be conveyed to the mind through the language of those whose thoughts have run in a very different channel. If that were all, some other European language might suit you as well as English, though you could hardly learn any other so easily. Neither do I dwell on the undoubted fact, that a knowledge of English fits you for doing business under English rule. I speak of the general capacity which the language gives you. And what I say is that the man who has made himself master of English, becomes capable of communicating with the greatest society in the world, or that ever was in the world, of thinking and reading men. English is spoken over a far vaster extent of the earth's surface than any other language; probably the numbers of its speakers at the present moment excel the numbers of those who speak any other language; if it is not yet spoken, it is

at all events read and written by more people than any other language ; its speakers are increasing in a much quicker ratio than the speakers of any other language, and it has a noble literature, which for power and range is second to none. I think, then, that this University has done very wisely in insisting on the study of English, and that it will do wisely in raising the standard on every favourable opportunity. There are 'things for which we English rulers of this country have been approached because it is said that, with the best of intentions, we have in a somewhat pedantic and blundering fashion introduced them into Indian Society, but I can look any one of my Indian friends in the face and say that among those things he cannot reckon the study of the English tongue.

Turning to other matters, I have to announce that an important Scholarship—the Premchand Roychand Scholarship—has this year for the first time been won by a young gentleman from the Punjab ; and I wish to congratulate the robust inhabitants of that Province on their fairly entering the lists of learning with their more studious countrymen of Bengal.

I am also sorry to mention that this University has suffered loss in the death of Mr. Woodrow, one of our earliest members. He was a member of the Syndicate when he died, and

I will read the honourable terms in which they have described their late colleague. They say of him that he was "a scholar of distinguished attainments, a judicious and energetic colleague, and a strenuous supporter of all measures calculated to assist academic progress and educational improvement."

Another event has happened which may prove an isolated accident, or may prove the harbinger of an important movement. A young Native Christian woman applied to be admitted to our Entrance Examination. Our rules did not contemplate such a thing, and all we could do for her was to put her through the same examination papers as were prepared for the candidates. This was done in order to ascertain whether she really was qualified for the position she aspired to. Well, she has come out from the ordeal triumphantly. We are told that a few, it may be a very few, but still a few, other girls will present themselves if they are permitted; and we therefore stand face to face with the question whether women shall partake of the benefits of an University system.

I suppose that people's judgment on this question will vary according to their general sense of the value which we ought to attach to the education of women; and this, again, will depend on their value for the education of men. The subject is much too large to be discussed

now. But having been led by my official duties in England to bestow attention on it for some years, and having a strong conviction on it, I will state what that is.

The part which women may play in general society varies much according to local institutions. But within the household, they have always and everywhere been the predominating influence. A man's domestic finances, his relations with his young children, his regulation of his servants, his intercourse with his 'neighbours, depend more upon his wife, or it may be on his mother, or sister, than they do upon himself. It was so in King Solomon's time and country; it is so now in England, and, unless I am much misinformed, it is so now in India. Moreover, the impressions made on all of us in the early years of our life—the most tender, the most cherished, often the most powerful and enduring—are those which we receive, each of us, boy or girl, at our mother's knee. How can we hesitate to train and inform, in the best way we can devise, the hearts and minds of those who have such momentous social duties to 'perform? My belief is that the nation which refuses to educate its women, wastes half its available power, and that it is doubtful whether it does not waste the more important half.

I am well aware that the conditions of Indian Society, especially the seclusion of women, and

what I may be permitted to call the lamentable practice of marriage in the nursery, throw great obstacles in the way of educating women. Many years, or rather many generations, must elapse before such education can become prevalent. It is better that it should be so. We cannot hurry on great social and spiritual movements. Such movements, if they are to be really great and enduring are apt to require centuries for their growth from the first tiny beginnings. In the meantime, though the growth must be spontaneous, we may encourage or discourage the first throbbings of life. I say let us encourage them, it is all we can do. We cannot create life, we cannot sensibly augment its quantity. Look now at this University. Its motive power, its living force, is the eager aspiration of you, the youth of this country, for learning. To that we can supply some useful guidance and a little help. But the life and growth come wholly from yourselves. So may it be, and so I hope it will be, though perhaps in the far-off future, with the education of women.

And now I feel that I have detained you too long from the words that you are desirous to hear. My connection with you has been but brief, and I wish I could think it had been useful to you. To me it has been most instructive and interesting, and will so abide during what remains to me of life. A few

moments, and I shall vanish away with the train of my predecessors, and the echoes of my voice will die away on these walls for the last time. But I trust that the things which have been said and done here by those who have laboured and helped you in the acquisition of mental power, will not vanish away, that they will awaken those echoes that never die; those echoes which

Roll from soul to soul,  
And grow for ever and for ever.

*The 10th March, 1877*

The Right Hon'ble Edward Robert Lytton,  
Bulwer Lytton, Baron Lytton

•  
*Chancellor*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN OF THE  
SENATE,

It is with much pleasure, though not without much diffidence, that I welcome the first opportunity afforded me of publicly associating myself with the University of Calcutta. The Chancellorship of this University, I believe, by law, an appanage of the Viceregal office, and I regard it as a very honourable appointment, but allow me to assure you that I do not regard it as a merely honorary one.

A score of years has now elapsed since this University first undertook the task of bringing the higher methods of Western thought into closer contact with the daily life of an Eastern people. The results of its labours in this direction, which your Vice-Chancellor has announced to-day attest the magnitude of the area over which its influence is already extended ; and I think that the people of India, more especially the people of Bengal, are no less indebted than the University itself, to the disinterested exertions of those many eminent men who, in the



course of the last twenty years, have guided and aided its salutary enterprise. Of these, no man

I believe has laboured with greater energy, *greater devotion, more judgment, or more success*, than your late Registrar, Mr. Sutcliffe. Those who came earliest under the influence of the University of Calcutta are now settled in the various pursuits of life, and it is by the character of the influence they may exercise upon the society of which they are now members, that the training afforded them by this University and its affiliated colleges must be hereafter judged. At the present moment it would doubtless be premature to pronounce upon its success, or to predict its ultimate results; but there is much in what we see around us to justify satisfaction with the past, and hope in the future. A philosophical poet, however, has warned us that in every source of satisfaction there must be some drop of bitterness; and the satisfaction with which you doubtless listened just now to the practical and eloquent address of your Vice-Chancellor was probably embittered by the reflection that it is the last you are likely to hear from his lips in this place. Gentlemen, it is the great and special misfortune of Anglo-Indian Society that when any one of its members retires from the labours and anxieties of public life in this country, it is not to find repose in the bosom of that community for whose

benefit he has been labouring. The case of public men in India is, indeed, like that of the patient in a whimsical story I once heard of one man who said to another, "I thought you told me yesterday that Tom's fever was gone". "So it is," replied his friend. "But," said the first speaker, "I have since heard that poor Tom is dead." "Ah! yes," replied the second, "I forgot to mention that when Tom's fever went off, Tom himself went off with it." And so it is, Gentlemen; here; when the fever of Indian official life is ended, life in India, as a rule, ends with it, so that every retirement from active duty in this country bequeathes to us, who remain behind, a private as well as a public bereavement. The approaching departure of Sir A. Hobhouse from India will entail innumerable losses of a similarly two-fold character. Of these, the loss most present to our minds on this occasion is that which is about to be sustained by the University of Calcutta and the Members of its Senate.

And I am afraid, Gentlemen, that the loss sustained by this University will be all the more sensibly felt because, at the present moment, the working body of the University is weaker than we could wish it to be. It will be my endeavour to strengthen it by increasing the number of resident Fellows, whose other avocations in life may be compatible with

active participation in the management of the University.

Gentlemen, as regards the text-books commended by this University to the use of schools and colleges in India, I think we may congratulate ourselves on the energy with which the question of their revision and improvement was taken up four years ago by my predecessor. I am glad to find that those old friends of our youth, the writings of Johnson and Addison, re-appear less frequently than of old in the subject-matter of recent examinations. Of those writings no Englishman can speak without grateful affection and respect; but I cannot but think they constitute somewhat inappropriate pabulum for the mind of young Bengali in this nineteenth century with whose intellectual progress we wish him to keep pace. We should not, I think, attempt to teach style, for style is character, and character is incommunicable—a truth which Buffon expressed when he said *le style c'est l'homme*. The only style we can teach is a conventional style and as that means conventional thinking and feeling, which is no thinking or feeling at all, the less we have of it the better. But, perhaps, there is still room for improvement. In the department of Philosophy, for instance, is it impossible to provide more helpful guides than either Reid or Abercrombie? Reid's system, though incomplete,

is no doubt a healthy one, but I would ask, are those two Scotchmen really the ablest psychologists the whole of the Western world has yet been able to produce? I strongly suspect that in his own literature a Hindu would find far greater masters of the metaphysical method, if he is to go on using that method at all; but I venture to think that the sooner he learns to discard it altogether, the better it will be for him, and the world around him. Then again, I know not whether the works of such thinkers as Hamilton, or Bain, or Herbert Spencer have yet found their way through the medium of this University to Native students. It is very possible that they have done so, although I have not noticed them on our list of text-books. But without mentioning those of many other psychologists, both French and German, I would venture to ask whether the works of either Bain or Spencer might not furnish more profitable selections for text-books than those of Reid and Abercrombie? One thing, at least, is certain: they would be truer and better representatives of the prevalent position of Western thought throughout the whole modern world at the present moment in the domain of psychology, if psychology we are to teach.

Gentlemen, there is another consideration connected with the future of this University. I perceive, by reference to its records, that the

uses and destinies of it have been occasionally discussed in connection with various theories as to the highest and most national functions of a University; but I doubt if the University of Calcutta has much to gain by the discussion of such abstract questions. The highest function of a University has, perhaps, no direct connection with instruction, in the strict sense of the word, but is rather that of a great national reservoir for thoroughly original research; a provision for the extension rather than the diffusion of knowledge, by means of which the search after truth may be freely prosecuted in all directions by independent thinkers and investigators not harassed or hampered by reliance for the means of subsistence on professional life or popular favour. This is a function, however, not yet fulfilled by any of our Universities in England and it is obvious that no Indian University is at present in a position to undertake it. For my own part, I certainly hope that a day may come, though no doubt it is yet far distant, when Europe will look to the Universities of India for the world's highest Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic scholarship: a day when these Universities will be recognized as the great store-houses of original discovery made by science in the opulent realms already offered to scientific research by India's immense varieties of soil and climate, of human race and character,

of vegetable and animal life ; and if that day ever does come, I am confident that it will find the University of Calcutta not merely, as it is now, an examining body, but also, to some extent at least, a teaching body, and perhaps, what is highest of all, even a learning body.

But, Gentlemen, whether this institution is ever to be, in any sense of the word, a teaching body, or whether its function be permanently confined to the duty of controlling and testing the teaching of other bodies still we are brought, on behalf of it, in either case, face to face with the great question which lies at the root of all our educational establishments in India, and, indeed, everywhere else—What are they to teach, and how are they to teach it? And this, again, raises the preliminary question—What is, or should be, the paramount aim and purpose of all our teaching? Now, that is a question which has been raised in all ages, and in all societies, whenever and wherever what I may call the *staatsidee* or, in other words, the conception of the state as a national entity, has once been formed. When some one asked him what he should teach boys, Agesilaus, the Spartan King, replied, “to become men ; and the things which they will have to do when they become men are those which it is most expedient for them to learn how to do while they are boys.”

From the same point of view a German writer has wisely said, "Whatever you want to put into the life of a nation, put first into its schools." I think, then, we may assume that the ultimate object of all education is the formation of character; and if that be so, it follows that it is the ideal standard of national character which must in every case determine the ideal standard of public instruction. But every national character has defects, as well as merits, peculiar to itself; so that no general system of public instruction can be devised equally suitable or profitable for all; and the system best suited for each is doubtless that which most tends to the correction of its natural defects without injuring its natural good qualities. I think that this consideration should not be lost sight of in contemplating the task to which the efforts of the Calcutta University are devoted. We should be in danger of wasting money, wasting force, wasting time, and even wasting knowledge, if we attempted to set in motion a vast educational machinery without a very definite conception, which, once formed should be constantly adhered to, of the special character of the work it is intended to perform or the goal to which its motion is tending. That would, indeed, be like getting up the steam and starting the locomotive before you have laid down the rail. Doubtless every kind of

knowledge is useful ; but every kind of knowledge is not equally useful at all times, under all conditions, in all circumstances of life, to every kind of person, or to every kind of society. We may teach much, teach widely, and teach well, and yet it is by no means impossible that what we teach should prove comparatively worthless to those we are teaching.

Gentlemen, I have heard an Oriental tale—I rather think it is an Indian one—which so aptly illustrates the danger to which I have ventured to call your attention that, with your permission, I will relate it to you. A certain holy personage who, by years of ascetic devotion, had acquired some supernatural powers, being belated one evening on a pious pilgrimage, was hospitably entertained by three poor brothers. These brothers lived together in one house, on a little plot of ground which was their paternal inheritance ; and the holy man, in requital for their hospitable reception of him, resolved to bestow upon them, at parting, a very precious gift. The gift was this : that each of them, whatever might be the occupation he preferred, should attain to perfect proficiency therein. Now, the eldest of the three brothers said, “For my own part, I find nothing to interest me at home. I have always wished to see the world. I think I have a turn for traffic and barter, and I should like to be a pedlar.” The second



replied, "Very well; as for me, I am fond of agriculture. Some one must look after our little property and so I will stay at home and cultivate it." But the youngest brother had no taste for anything in particular, and his time was chiefly passed in catching flies—a kind of sport for which our Indian climate makes ample provision. Well, these three brothers having chosen each his own occupation parted; and when they met again, the pedlar had become one of the wealthiest and most famous merchants of Hindustan; the second brother, the farmer, had become a great agricultural proprietor, in short, the chief zamindar of his own province. Now, the youngest of the three brothers had also been equally assiduous in the prosecution of his own favourite occupation; and in this he, too, had attained to perfect proficiency. He was the most skilful fly-catcher in all the world. But what was the use of such proficiency? It was worthless. Well, Gentlemen, we hear and talk much of the value of the gifts it is in our power to bestow upon the natives of this country; but I sincerely trust that whatever those gifts may be, we shall not attempt to include amongst them proficiency in literary or philosophical fly-catching. With the expression of this hope, I return to the consideration of the question from which I started—What is, what must be, the paramount

And permanent object of all our educational efforts in India? .

I think you will agree with me, Gentlemen, that it should be the formation of the highest possible standard of Native character in the closest possible harmony with Western thought. But the characteristic strength and weakness of the Native intellect are essentially different from those of the English. The average English intellect needs development on the imaginative and sympathetic side of it; the average Native intellect on the positive and the practical side. This impression was strengthened in my mind by a paragraph I read some days ago in a Native newspaper, and which, with your permission, I will read to you. The writer of it, referring to the duties of Government in reference to the calamitous scarcity now afflicting so large a portion of southern India, observes:—

“All that the English Government has done in the famine-stricken districts of the Deccan is to start relief works, and provide the sufferers with the means of earning their livelihood by labour. There has been no remission of taxation, nor has the carriage of grain by railway being made free. At the present moment a portion of the Chinese Empire is likewise exposed to famine. The Chinese Government has remitted all taxes in the distressed districts, and distributes grain to the people without exacting any labour in return.”

And then the writer earnestly exhorts the Government of India to adopt the good example, and follow the humane policy, of the Government of China. Now, Gentlemen, I have no doubt that the publicist who deemed it his duty to give this advice to the Government of India sincerely believed in the soundness of it; for I see no reason why such a belief should be incompatible with considerable literary culture. But I maintain that literary culture alone is insufficient to guide the Native mind, with all its great natural gifts, into those avenues of thought and observation which are the travelling high roads of the whole practical civilization of the modern world.

Let me endeavour to explain a little more precisely the grounds of this conclusion. The human mind, that is to say, each of our leading conceptions, and each branch of our knowledge, successively passes, sooner or later, through three different theoretical conditions. Regarded from a purely historical point of view, theologies are the most important expressions of the first, and metaphysical systems of the second. The positive condition is the least ambitious of the three. Its sphere of enquiry, though restlessly active, is strictly limited. It does not aspire to absolute knowledge. It does not presume to declare the essential nature, the first or final causes, the origin and purpose of things. It

content to investigate only the invariable succession and resemblance of phenomena; and its utmost effort is confined to the establishment of a connection between single and general facts. It is this condition which closes the historic sequence. Now, it is the lasting glory of the Eastern world to have taken the initiative in that intellectual process—that secular search after truth. At the earliest dawn of history, and perhaps even earlier, Oriental thought, pouring itself with a marvellous opulence of fancy, and a singularly energetic rapidity of power, through all the channels of pure speculation, had reached the furthest limit to which in all probability the human mind will ever be brought by the metaphysical method alone. But there it stopped, and there it has remained ever since. It stopped, because its method could carry it no further; it has remained where it stopped because it had at its command no other method. Yet, what do we not owe to the Eastern world? The benign beginnings of language and of literature, of religion and philosophy; the very structure of the speech we speak, and some of the subtlest conceptions, some of the noblest ideas, that speech is capable of expressing. Be it remembered that the East is not only the parent of the Vedas and Puranas; not merely the inspirer of Buddha and of Mahomet. It is the East that raised the first altars to Jehovah; it is the East that was

the chosen birth-place of Christianity. Well then, we sons of the West, what offering, wholly ours, can we now present to our ancestral East in requital for these early, these precious and still cherished gifts? Gentlemen, the positive method is the special discovery of Western thought; the positive method is the most potent instrument of Western civilization. And therefore, I say, if it be our object to bring Eastern life into harmony with Western thought, and to confer upon Eastern life the practical benefits of Western civilization, it is to habits of positive thinking, formed by positive methods of observation, and to a salutary mistrust of all speculation which can not be verified in the domain of positive fact, that we should endeavour to train the Native mind. But for this purpose mere literary culture is inadequate. The best education we can provide for the Native community of this country is the education which will most rapidly and permanently fit it to assume a practical, and eventually, I hope, a prominent part, in the development not only of its political, but also of its social, industrial, commercial, and intellectual life. For in these days political power is the child of social activity; in these days industry and commerce are the parents of national prosperity; and whilst Religion guides, Science should stimulate, Literature reflect, and Art adorn, the progress of a people. But how is

~~the~~ Native community to do all this, and how shall we help it to do it? Well, I am sorry to say that whether you consult those journals which represent the aspirations of the Native community, or those which similarly represent European opinion in India, you find this great question discussed, by each party to the discussion of it, from a point of view which seems to me essentially misleading and within limits lamentably narrow. It seems to be virtually assumed on both sides that the be-all and the end-all of an educated class is Government employment. Thus, on one side, there is the educated Native plaintively telling us that because we have provided him with a University education, and because he has fully and successfully availed himself of that provision therefore we are bound, at least in his opinion, to provide him also with official employment. Virtually he comes to us with his M.A. degree in one hand, and in the other a demand for some post under Government. And if we demur to that demand, he feels very much aggrieved, and probably disposed to employ those graces of style, for which he is, perhaps, indebted to the University of Calcutta, in a manner by no means flattering to the Government he has been so eager to serve. And, on the other side, there is our incredulous European critic reminding us, with something, like a complacent chuckle, that this is just what

he had always predicted, since everything teach our Native subjects must necessarily increase their expectation of responsible official employment, without necessarily qualifying them for it. Now, Gentlemen, on behalf of the Government of India, I entirely repudiate this dilemma. One horn of it is, I think fastened to a fallacy, and the other to a fiction. Instruction is but a very small part of education, and I refuse to put the part for the whole. Cyrus said he had only been taught three things ; to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth. Yet it is certain that Cyrus was admirably well educated to lead and govern men. And I maintain that, if education be properly directed to its right object, the formation of character, and if you give it time enough, it is perfectly in the power of education to qualify almost any human being for almost any kind of human responsibility. Nay, I think I could, if challenged to do so, produce ample testimony on the part of the most competent observers to the fact so significant, and so honourable to this University, that even in the short space of twenty years the influence of English education on that portion of the Native community brought within its reach has effected a marked improvement in those qualities which fit men for responsible activity, not merely in the service of a State, but generally in the service of society at

large. But I also maintain that there is no country under the sun—at least I know of none, unless, indeed, it be China, in which fitness for Government employment has ever been the acknowledged exclusive aim of public instruction; and I sincerely trust it will never be the acknowledged exclusive aim of public instruction in India.

The claim of the Native community to participate in the management of public affairs, that is to say, in the service of the State, is a point to which I will presently return and it is one in regard to which I have certainly no desire to mince matters or to split hairs. But meanwhile I must say that I can conceive no greater curse to any country than a state of things in which the whole educated class of the community is encouraged and accustomed to look exclusively to Government employment, or even to political life, as its only means of social influence or personal profit. It is to you, young men, whom I rejoice to see before me in such numbers, that I would more specially address this warning—you, the promising representatives of young Bengal. I congratulate you on your recent honours; I congratulate you cordially on having proved thus early in life, not only your desire for the acquisition of knowledge, but also your power to acquire it by persevering application. You are about, ere long, to take your place as men in



the world around you, and there, I trust, you will display with equal success those qualities which utilize knowledge, and make it helpful to others. You will find there a wider field than any Government can furnish for the investment of your energies. Commerce, Science, Literature, and Art, await your helpful recognition of their needs. Do not trust exclusively to Government for your career. Trust yourselves; and trust those opportunities of usefulness which Providence never denies to the man who seriously seeks them. Then your fellow-creatures will trust you; and your Government will gladly and proudly welcome your co-operation for the good of the whole community. I am sorry to say that at the present moment in all this vast Empire I only know of one conspicuous exception to the prevalent passivity of Native capital and industrial enterprize; and it is a noteworthy fact that this exception is to be found in that portion of the Empire which happens to be in closest contact with the Western world. Bombay exhibits the pleasant and encouraging spectacle of a large and thriving Native community actively engaged in the pursuits of trade and industry; a Native community which, by its own intelligent exertions, is rapidly increasing the social, commercial, industrial, and consequently political, importance of that great Presidency. Now, I should like to see the

Government of India receiving from the whole Native community in India a similarly helpful hand in the prosecution of what primarily devolves upon a community itself for the promotion of its own prosperity, improvement and renown. Allow me, Gentlemen, to recall to your recollection, in connection with these considerations, some admirable remarks, pregnant with suggestion, which fell from the lips of your late Chancellor, on an occasion similar to the present. Lord Northbrook then said :—

— “I cannot help noticing in this country how some professions, which in England are filled by some of the ablest men in the highest ranks of society, appear in India not to be looked to as professions in which educated men and graduates of the University can properly be employed. I look to the Fine Arts, and I look to Commerce, in which a large portion of the educated men in England obtain their positions in life, and I see that in India those professions are not valued so much as they should be by those who have gone through a University course. I, however, look forward to the time which, in this city at any rate, is rapidly approaching, when the customs which at present prevent educated men of the higher ranks of society from entering such professions will be regarded as things of the past.”

Well, Gentlemen, when that change shall have been brought about, to which I also look forward no less confidently than my distinguished predecessor, the claim of educated Natives to Government employment will have placed itself upon the broadest foundations. But to the consideration of this claim in its present form, I now return. It is, indeed, a subject on which I have for some time been anxious to take the first public opportunity in my power of speaking frankly and explicitly; because on the last occasion when it was my duty to make public reference to this subject, the language I used, though I think it was as clear and straightforward as language can be, appears to have been misunderstood by some of those to whom it was addressed; and on a matter of such common interest, a matter involving the honour of the State and the satisfaction of its subjects, misunderstandings are mischievous. Gentlemen, I am aware that, strictly speaking, this subject does not perhaps fall fairly within the province of the Chancellor of your University; but it happens that the Chancellor of this University is also Viceroy of India and since I find myself gifted with a double identity, kindly allow me to take the fullest possible advantage of the gift. Now, whatever else it may rest upon, the claim of Native subjects to official employment rests primarily

and principally, on the pledge spontaneously given, and repeatedly re-affirmed, to them by the Crown and Parliament of England. I believe the policy which inspired that pledge was not only generous but wise; but whether it was wise or foolish is a question not now susceptible of useful, or even honourable, discussion. The pledge has been given: the duty of the Government of India is, not to discuss it, but to carry it out; and I think that the Native community in this country is not altogether without some cause to complain of the length of time during which that pledge has been, as it still remains, inadequately redeemed. But what is the real cause of its tardy and imperfect redemption. Did time allow, it would be easy, I think, to convince any candid judge that the Governments of England and India have never consciously endeavoured to evade the obligation they spontaneously incurred. When, however, the obligation was, perhaps somewhat impulsively, contracted, the practical difficulties of discharging it were either under-rated or ignored. But experience has proved that these difficulties cannot be ignored, and that they can scarcely be overrated. It never was intended, and I trust it never will be allowed, that prospective justice to the sanctioned aspirations of the Native community should involve retrospective injustice to the tried abilities and prior rights of the existing

covenanted service. And, although the members of that service at present, possess a practical monopoly of all its most important appointments, their numbers are still out of proportion to their prospects of promotion, and they already complain that the expectations held out to them when they entered the service are not being fulfilled.

It must then, I fear, be frankly acknowledged, that the Government of India is practically placed in the embarrassing position of a person who has signed two incompatible contracts, each of which he is bound in law, and bound in honour, to fulfil. How may this double obligation be adequately discharged? It involves a difficulty which, once frankly acknowledged, must be boldly faced, and can, I believe, be fully overcome. The Government of India has, on many occasions, evinced its anxiety to augment the Native element in its public service, and on not a few occasions it has done so at the risk of incurring reproach, and provoking complaint from its European servants. But I do not, for my own part, believe that to go on unsystematically appointing some Native here and some Native there, now one and then another to a Government post, would be any adequate redemption of our promise. In my humble judgment there is but one safe and satisfactory course now open to the Government of India.

That course will no doubt involve the radical reform of a system which, having been organised anterior, and without reference to, these conflicting obligations, experience has proved to be incompatible with the complete satisfaction of either of them. I regret that a reform so increasingly needed should have been so long postponed, because those who now inherit the deferred duty, must inherit also the augmented difficulty of carrying it out. But I am far from saying that its postponement was causeless, or could have been avoided. Even delay is better than precipitation, for if reform is to be durable, it must be deliberate, and it was the clear duty of the Government of India to enquire, and feel its way very cautiously through a matter in which one false step might be irrevocable, and the mischief of it beyond calculation. Now, it devolved upon me to tell the representatives of the Native community at Delhi two plain truths: first, that there are certain functions of Government in this country which cannot be confined to any but British officers; and, secondly, that there is no kind of official employment for which the Government of India would be justified in regarding mere intellectual acuteness as a sufficient qualification. I have been told, gentlemen, by many organs of the Native Press, that this was a hard saying, and an indirect revocation of promises on which

they were entitled to rely. But what is ~~the~~ simple fact? The broad principles commended by the Secretary of State, and adopted by the Government of India, for its guidance in this matter have never been cancelled or modified. The groundwork of these principles was laid down with a masterly hand by 'a distinguished Statesman, to whose authority I am content to appeal, and whose words I will ask leave to repeat. He said:—

“It is notorious that in their case” (that is to say, in the case of Natives) “mere intellectual acuteness is no indication of ruling power. ~~In~~ In vigour, in courage, and in administrative ability, some of the races of India, most backward in education, are well known to be superior to other races which, intellectually, are much more advanced. In a competitive examination the chances of a Bengali would probably be superior to the chances of a Pathan or a Sikh. It would, nevertheless, be a dangerous experiment to place a successful student from the Colleges of Calcutta in command over any of the martial tribes of Upper India. And to these practical disqualifications of race must be added the not less serious difficulties which may arise out of the circumstances of rank and caste. It should never be forgotten,—and there should never be any hesitation in laying down the principle,—that it is one of our first duties towards the

people of India to guard the safety of our own dominion. For this purpose we must proceed gradually, employing only such Natives as we can trust, and these only in such offices and in such places as in the actual condition of things the Government of India may determine to be really suited to them."

Well, now, these words, which were written in 1869, were not specially present to my mind when I addressed the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, but had they been so, I think that my language on that occasion could not have more accurately embodied than it did the substance and significance of them. But, although it is indisputable that there are certain Government appointments which can only be entrusted to Europeans, every competent and candid observer must perceive that there are many others perfectly suitable for the employment of Natives, and many Natives perfectly competent to fill them with advantage to the State and credit to themselves. Such, at least, is my own belief; and I, therefore, think that our first step must be to classify, or re-cast the classification of our public service, from this point of view. Those paramount executive functions which, in the supreme interests of public safety and national progress must be permanently reserved for European agency, should be distinctly and emphatically defined, whilst to those posts—and



they are neither few nor unimportant nor yet inferior in dignity—which Natives are, we believe, well qualified to occupy, the free admission of competent Natives should be unreservedly facilitated and uninterruptedly maintained. But if Natives are to be admitted in adequate numbers and frequency, and with adequate prospects of promotion, to certain offices originally confined to the covenanted service, and if they are to be so admitted without injury to the position, or prejudice to the claims, of present incumbents, then the present system of indenting on England for those branches of that service which, in all its branches, is already overcrowded, must be promptly stopped, or rigidly restricted.

Gentlemen, I need not remind you, that even if the principles of such a measure as I have now indicated be as undisputed as I believe them to be indisputable, still they cannot be carried into practical effect without preliminary deliberation and discussion. But this I can say, not only for myself but for every member of the Government of India, the early and satisfactory settlement of this great question is an object which we all have seriously at heart; and, speaking on my own behalf, let me add that, if permitted to promote and witness it, I shall always regard the accomplishment of that object, provided only it be accomplished justly and safely, with grateful feelings not dependent on the

gratitude of others. But sincerely as I desire to see the Natives of India more largely and actively associated than they are at present with the service of the Government, I should be sorry to see admission to Government employment regarded by the educated class of this country, or fitness for it contemplated by the students of this University, as the exclusive, or even the highest, object of their endeavours. I will not say of the University of Calcutta that—

“ ’Twere to cramp its use, if we  
Should hook it to some useful end.”

Far from that; but I do say, thank God, the sphere of human usefulness is practically unlimited; and to train the growing generations of this Indian presidency to become useful to their fellow-creatures in more ways than one; nay, in every way that can be opened or advanced by sound instruction, and a manly civic subordination of personal to social interests;—this, I say, is a nobly useful end; and to the attainment of it the exertions of this University will long, I trust, continue to be directed with ever-increasing success.

***The 16th March, 1878***

**The Hon'ble Mr. Justice William Markby**

*Vice-Chancellor*

GENTLEMEN,

I regret to state that the result of the examinations which have just been held in the University have not been satisfactory. When, however, I say that the results have not been satisfactory, I do not mean that they have been unsatisfactory to the University itself. So far as the University is concerned, the object of these examinations, has been attained when it has once been secured that they have been conducted with integrity and purity, and that the standards of sufficiency have not been capriciously disturbed. It is of the utmost importance that every candidate who presents himself to our examinations should feel that he has nothing to fear from prejudice, nothing to hope from corruption or favour; the actual number of candidates who pass is to us, as a University, a matter of comparative indifference. It is, of course, a very serious matter to the Colleges from whence our candidates come, and I have no doubt it will receive full attention in the proper quarter.

Gentlemen, in the past year we have lost two of our oldest and most distinguished

members,—Dr. Duff and the Maharaja Romanath Tagore.

Of Dr. Duff I can only speak from hearsay. Although he only died within the past year, he left India finally in 1863, and in the Convocation of 1864 his character was drawn by Sir Henry Maine in language so terse and discriminating, that I feel I should only be doing an injustice to Dr. Duff's memory if I were to attempt to add anything of my own. I can, however, say this, that Dr. Duff is one of the very few men remembered with affection fifteen years after they have quitted the scene of their labours. I have never heard Dr. Duff's name mentioned without receiving some fresh proof of the veneration in which his name is held throughout all classes of society.

Maharaja Romanath Tagore died in the midst of us a few months ago. His youth fell in a time when the means of education at the command of natives of this country were what we should now justly deem inadequate. But, nevertheless, by making the best use of the opportunities at his command, Romanath Tagore, when he grew up, had a full right to call himself a well-educated man. He was, moreover, a man of no prejudices. He never dreamt that it was beneath the dignity of a well-born and well-educated man to betake himself to the pursuits of commerce, and he nevertheless attained the

highest position of dignity and influence in the ranks of his fellow-countrymen. The career of the Maharaja Romanath Tagore may teach more than one useful lesson to those of you who are now just beginning life.

Two other distinguished men have died in the course of the year who were Fellows of this University,—Dr. Elliott and Mr. Geoghegan. We had enjoyed only for a very short time the advantages of their assistance. But each had already won high distinction in their respective services, and we have to deplore the loss of two of our most promising fellow workers.

Gentlemen, it is not my intention to inflict upon you to-day a speech upon education. Very high authorities have told us that all education speeches are a bore. I am not so presumptuous as to think that I can dispel the irksomeness which abler men have felt so oppressive. I shall therefore confine my observations to-day to one or two matters of detail, to which I wish to take this opportunity of calling the attention of the University.

The first relates to the strength of that which must be our mainstay, our teaching staff. It has been frequently laid down that one of the dangers which it is the duty of the University specially to resist is that of superficial teaching. But to teach well and thoroughly we must have teachers sufficient in number and sufficient in quality.

In respect of what I may call the old standards, I think there is no cause for alarm. We have on those subjects an able body of Professors devoted to their labours. But I have more doubt about the new subjects which we are being pressed on all sides to admit into the University course. Have we the means of teaching all those subjects? It is not enough to place a subject in our lists and to offer a few rupees to students as an incentive to take it up. We must have competent teachers and that not only in one college, but in all the affiliated colleges of <sup>Bengal</sup> Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, and the Punjab. If we do not secure this, we shall be holding out a temptation to the acquisition of superficial knowledge and frittering away that thoroughness which we declare to be the very pith and marrow of the University system.

I have some hope from the efforts of the people themselves in this matter. A good example has been set by our colleague Dr. Mahendra Lall Sircar, and his co-adjutors, in their efforts to establish an Association for the Cultivation of Science. Science is the common ground—probably the only common ground—of Eastern and Western thought; and I sincerely hope that this highly useful association may be able to co-operate cordially with the University in giving that scientific education which I for one would gladly extend, if we can only find the means for doing so.

Gentlemen, I think upon this as upon many other subjects, we should be safer if we had a little more of the advice of men who have had some practical experience in education. As you all know, the principal control of the University is vested by the Act of Incorporation in the Senate. But nearly all subjects of a really educational character are, in fact, disposed of, not by the Senate, which is too large and heterogeneous a body to take much interest in such matters, but by the Faculties and by the Syndicate. Now upon these educational questions, our real guides must be the persons actually engaged in teaching. Outsiders may be useful to hold the balance between conflicting opinions, but questions of this class are mostly professional questions upon which we require the guidance of men of special skill and experience. It certainly does appear to me that the teachers by profession have not at present sufficient influence in our councils. We attempt to get advice by circulating papers to the heads of colleges, but this is not quite satisfactory. We want the benefit of their advice and experience in the course of our deliberations, and we want their votes at the final decision. This is a matter which deserves, I think, serious consideration at the hands of the University.

Gentlemen, the last subject to which I desire to advert, is one which has engaged the attention

of the University for a considerable period, and on which I may venture, perhaps without presumption, to think it worth while to leave my opinion on record. Lord Northbrook, three or four years ago, in his address to Convocation, suggested that the time had come for the establishment of University Professorships, especially in Law. Lord Northbrook probably spoke from his knowledge of the policy of the English Government in respect of education, and from general considerations only ; but I am satisfied that from a purely educational point of view also, Lord Northbrook was right. I cannot, of course, enter here into the full consideration of a question of this kind, but I may touch upon one or two salient points. Whenever we consider the subject of legal education, we must bear in mind that the English Government has impressed one feature indelibly upon this country, that the administration of justice shall be a technical and not a popular one. We have made the lawyer not only useful, but absolutely necessary. That is a state of things towards which every civilised country must necessarily tend, and is only a branch of the great process of division of labour. But there is no doubt that the progress towards the ultimate separation between lawyers and laymen has been, and is at this moment in the course of being, greatly accelerated by the policy of our rulers. The great experiment in legislation



now going forward will, I do not hesitate to say, be a most disastrous failure if the law education of the country is not kept up to a very high standard. Ideas gathered from Germany, France, Italy, America, and England are being introduced here with very great rapidity. No judge or practitioner will make a right application of those principles, unless he has been thoroughly well trained in the schools before he enters upon his duties in the forum. I say also, with equal confidence, that it will tax our efforts to the utmost to establish even one such school of law in Lower Bengal. I, of course, am wholly indifferent, where that school is placed, but as it must be under the control of the University, it seems obvious that it should be established in the University itself. It may be somewhat a hardship to abolish the law classes in the colleges of Bengal, but if we are to have any teaching worthy of the name it must be done. We must have at least five or even six of the ablest lawyers we can find, and we cannot be satisfied with a portion—we must have all their time. They must therefore be very highly paid, for we come here into direct competition with a very lucrative profession. But it will be a most unwise economy if money is stinted for this purpose, for I again repeat the great scheme of legislation now going forward can only bring misery and confusion into every

family, if the new laws being now created are left to be administered by any other than thoroughly trained men. People may find themselves entangled in the meshes of litigation, from which neither judge nor advocate has the skill to extricate them. I trust, therefore, that the discussion which Lord Northbrook initiated upon this subject will not be allowed to drop until something effectual has been accomplished.

Gentlemen, this is the first, and it will, in all probability, be the last time that my duty calls upon me to address a large assembly in Calcutta. I am glad that it has happened to fall upon such an occasion as the present. I am convinced that the one boon for which the people of this country are deeply and sincerely grateful is the higher education superintended by our Universities. They feel, as we must also feel, that it is this alone which really draws them nearer to ourselves. I also maintain that it is this, and this alone, which can enable us to solve the problems of almost superhuman difficulty which lie before us. I am proud, therefore, of having been permitted during the past few years to take a part in the councils of this University, in the success of which I shall always take the warmest interest.

*The 15th March, 1879*

The Hon'ble Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I.

*Vice-Chancellor*

GENTLEMEN,

I rise, according to custom, for the purpose of saying a few words to my colleagues in the Senate and to the Graduates whom I see assembled before me.

I think that it is impossible to attend at these annual Convocations without being impressed by the success which has followed the establishment of Universities in India. When we remember the misgivings and the predictions of failure with which this measure was received by many persons sincerely interested in the moral and intellectual progress of the natives of this land ; when we contrast the number of successful candidates at the examinations held in recent years with the numbers in the earlier years of the University ; when we observe the influence which these examinations exercise over the secondary and superior education now going on throughout the vast provinces which compose what, for want of a better term, is called "The Presidency of Bengal"—an influence which is annually increasing ;—and when we reflect that very similar results have followed in the two

sister Presidencies, we must, I think, acknowledge that the scheme of Indian Universities, which was sketched out in the Education Despatch of 1854, and which was brought into operation in the year of the mutiny, was a measure of true and clear-seeing statesmanship—a worthy monument of the Great Company whose administration of this Empire is one of the most remarkable facts in history. I know that it may be said that before this University, or any other Indian University, can be pronounced to be a complete success, much remains to be accomplished; that the knowledge which is tested by our examinations, is, in many respects, wanting in that thoroughness which ought to characterize it, and that the number of graduates, of whom it can truly be affirmed that they are well educated men—educated in the highest sense of the word—fitted to become good citizens and useful servants of the State, able to realize the defects of their own knowledge, and to fathom the vastness of the learning to which their studies have introduced them, is comparatively small. To this I can only reply that Rome was not built in a day; that two-and-twenty years is but a brief period in the life of a nation; that the reforms which have been effected in the Universities of our own land have been the work of centuries, and that there is every ground for hoping that there will be, as

time goes on, it may be a slow, but not the less a sure, advance in the quality of the education tested by these examinations. To the defects to which I have alluded, the Senate are by no means insensible, as is shown by the minutes of their proceedings which are published every year. For some time past an important alteration in the rules for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, having for its object to render the scheme of studies less discursive, to narrow its range, while increasing its depth, has been under consideration and will, I hope, be sanctioned at no very distant date. And here I may observe, with reference to a remark which was made last year by my learned friend and predecessor in the Vice-Chancellorship of this University, that the Government of India fully recognize the importance of giving an adequate influence in the counsels of this Senate to those who are teachers by profession, and who are engaged in teaching in the Colleges affiliated to the University. It will be seen that something has been done in this direction in the appointments which appeared in last Saturday's *Gazette*.

Turning to the results of the recent examinations, I find that for the Entrance Examination, there were 2,617 candidates, of whom 1,099 passed ; for the First Arts Examination 923 candidates, of whom 267 passed ; for the Bachelor of Arts Examination 323 candidates,

of whom 91 passed; for the M.A. Examination 48 candidates, of whom 28 passed; for the B. L. Examination 84 candidates, of whom 47 passed; for the Licence in Civil Engineering 21 candidates, of whom 5 passed; and for the Degree of Bachelor in Civil Engineering 7 candidates, of whom 1 passed. One thing that strikes one in looking at these figures, is the small proportion of successful candidates for the Bachelor of Arts Degree and at the First Examination in Arts. The proportion was small last year also, and this, I am informed, is, in some measure, attributable to the fact that in both these years the total number of candidates includes unsuccessful candidates of former years who were allowed to present themselves for examination on producing certificates showing that they had paid the fee for a previous examination which they had failed to pass, but without any certificate that since the time of their failure they had been continuing their studies in an affiliated college. In future such a certificate will be required, and the effect will doubtless be to reduce the proportion of unsuccessful candidates.

In connection with the examinations of the past year, I must not omit to mention a circumstance which is both interesting and important. I refer to the fact of the Senate having passed rules for the examination of female candidates, under the operation of which one

Hindu young lady, educated at the Bethune School, passed the Entrance Examination with great credit. The young lady to whom I refer, Kadambini Basu, obtained very high marks in Bengali, very tolerable marks in History; and even in the exact sciences—a subject which is not usually considered to be congenial to the female intellect—she acquitted herself very creditably. She only missed being placed in the First Division of passed candidates for the Entrance Examination by a single mark. I will not take up your time by dilating on the advantages of female education, or on the difficulties which beset it in this country. Two years ago this subject was dwelt upon by one of the ablest of my predecessors in this office, and very recently it has formed the subject of an eloquent speech from our Chancellor, which I have no doubt most of you who were not present to hear it have read in the news-papers. On this occasion I will only say that the question whether the women of this country are to be educated, is one which can only be settled by the men, and mainly by the educated classes; by those who, having themselves received the advantages of a liberal education, are desirous that the same advantages shall be extended to their wives and daughters. I am told that there is an increasing desire on the part of the young men of Bengal that their wives and daughters

should be educated. I sincerely hope that it may be so ; for it is a matter in which neither the Government, nor this University, nor any European agency of any description, can do much to help you. It is essentially an object demanding Native thought and Native effort, which, if it is to be realized at all, must be attained by your own exertions, by the gradual conquest of ancient prejudices, and by a change by national customs which the history of the world teaches us it is by no means easy to effect.

In the past year, as in former years, the Senate of this University has lost by death more than one of its members, who were either remarkable for the zeal and ability with which they devoted themselves to the special objects of the University, or who adorned it by their prominence in other spheres of duty. Conspicuous in the first class was the late Mr. Sutcliffe, who for nearly thirty years was a teacher, and for the greater part of that time was the head of the principal college in Bengal. Mr. Sutcliffe was Registrar of the University for about eleven years, and to him are due most of the improvements in our system which took place during that important and critical period in the history of the University. The admirable arrangements which he introduced for the conduct of the examinations are still carefully followed. Mr. Sutcliffe educated three generations of Bengalis.



His name will long be a household word in many Bengali families.

Mr. Blochmann's attainments as an Arabic and Persian scholar are well known. His studies in those languages embraced a wide range, but his special study—the subject on which he had probably acquired more knowledge than has hitherto been attained by any other European scholar—was the History of India under the Muhammadan rule.

Dr. Robson had passed through a somewhat varied career. Coming to India as a Medical Missionary in 1863, he subsequently joined the Educational Department of this Province, and died, at the early age of forty, a victim to the climate and to his zealous exertions in the discharge of his duties.

Dr. Oldham's avocations were such as did not admit of his taking an active part in the immediate business of the University. He had a high reputation as a Geologist, and his name will long be remembered as the Founder, and for many years the able Director, of the Geological Survey of India. His services in this post were highly valued by the Government of India, and were fully recognized by the scientific world.

And now, gentlemen, the mention of these names of former colleagues whose loss the University deplores, leads me to say a few words with reference to the ceremonial which we

performed immediately before the opening of this Convocation. I refer to the unveiling of the bust of the late Mr. Henry Woodrow, which has been placed in the Senate House as a memorial of his long and devoted services in the cause of Native education. To me it is a melancholy satisfaction that the duty of presiding at that ceremonial, and of bearing public testimony to the merits of our valued and lamented colleague, should have devolved upon me; for it so happens that Henry Woodrow and I were school-fellows; and, although the greater part of our Indian service was passed in different parts of the Empire, we had for many years a bond of union in the fact that we were both employed upon the great work of promoting the education of the natives of this land—a work which our lamented colleague performed with a zeal and devotion and practical ability that have seldom been surpassed. I well remember meeting Mr. Woodrow on the first occasion of my visiting this city, now nearly four-and-twenty years ago, and renewing the acquaintance of our school-days; and I shall never forget how impressed I then was by the earnestness and the thoroughness with which he had entered upon his new duties. That earnestness and that thoroughness never flagged. They characterized the whole of Mr. Woodrow's useful and active life, up to the closing scene when he was suddenly struck down in

the midst of his labours. And there were two other points in his character which we should all of us do well to contemplate, and to which I would invite the attention of you my younger friends—the newly-passed graduates of this University. I refer to the consistent uprightness and truthfulness of his mind, and to the equanimity with which he bore the trials and disappointments of life. Some of those now present are doubtless aware that many years before his death Mr. Woodrow encountered a severe disappointment in being passed over for the chief office in his department—an office for which he was generally considered to possess the strongest claims. Another person was selected, and Mr. Woodrow had to work on in a subordinate post for another fifteen years; but the disappointment, great as it was, in no way impaired his zeal. He laboured on patiently and steadily, destined at length to attain the goal of his ambition, but alas! only to enjoy it for a few short months.

Gentlemen, before I sit down I must ask permission to offer the respectful but cordial thanks of the University to the distinguished American soldier and statesman who is seated on my right, for having honoured this Convocation by his presence. In General Grant we see a conspicuous instance of that devotion to duty, that tenacity of purpose, that quiet but

indomitable energy, which characterizes the best men, not only of the Anglo-Saxon, but of every race. Alike to us who have long been engaged in the business of life, and to you who are now about to enter upon it, the career of General Grant furnishes a remarkable example of duties faithfully and efficiently discharged, and of difficulties successfully overcome: and here let me remind you that there is no sphere of duty however limited, no position in life however humble, in which the contemplation of such an example is without its value. In the words of an eminent countryman of our illustrious visitor, in the words of an American poet who still lives to adorn the literature of his country, and who is held in honour wherever the English language is read—

We have not wings, we cannot soar,  
But we have feet to scale and climb,  
By slow degrees, by more and more,  
'The cloudy summits of our time.

The heights by great men reached and kept,  
Were not attained by sudden flight;  
But they, while their companions slept,  
Were toiling upward in the night.

Standing on what too long we bore,  
With shoulders bent and downcast eyes,  
Let us discern, unseen before,  
A path to higher destinies.

Nor deem the irrevocable past,  
As wholly wasted, wholly vain,  
If rising on its wrecks at last,  
To something nobler we attain.

Thus toiling on in the performance of the duties of whatever may be your chosen or your appointed walk in life ; thus earnestly striving to overcome the difficulties and the temptations which will inevitably beset you ; thus undeterred by failure, and thereby stimulated to fresh effort, it is for you, the graduates of this University, to do your best to prove that the education which is certified by her degrees, is a sound education, which not only informs and trains your intellects, but helps to make you industrious and honest and God-fearing men.

